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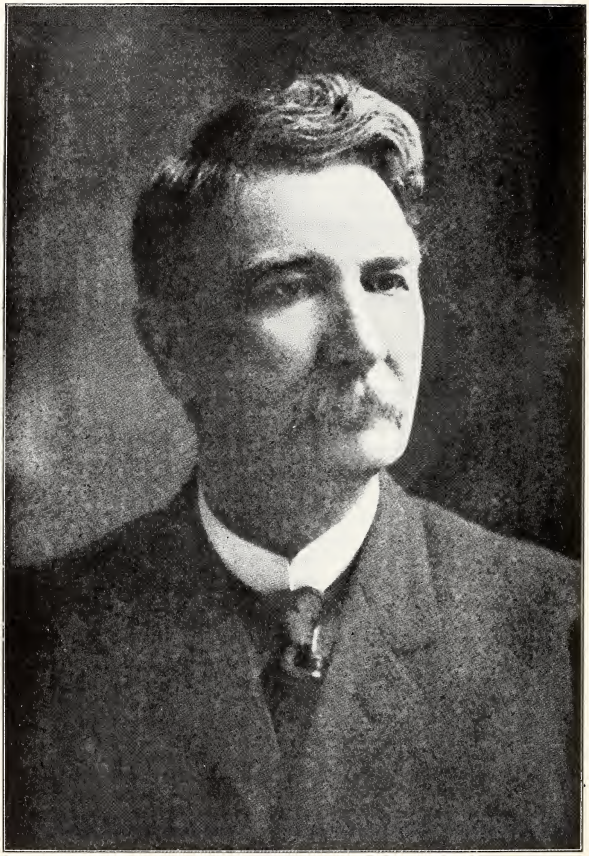

ALFRED ORENDORFF.

Publication Number Fifteen

OF THE

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Illinois State Historical Society

FOR THE YEAR 1910

Eleventh Annual Meeting, May 5th and 6th, 1910

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.
ILLINOIS STATE JOURNAL CO., STATE PRINTERS
1912

EDITORIAL NOTE.

Following the practice of the Publication Committee in previous years, this volume includes, besides the official proceedings and the papers read at the last annual meeting, some essays and other matter contributed during the year. It is hoped that these "contributions to State History" may, in larger measure as the years go on, deserve their title, and form an increasingly valuable part of the Society's transactions. The contributions are intended to include the following kinds of material:

1. Hitherto unpublished letters and other documentary material. This part of the volume should supplement the more formal and extensive publication of official records in the Illinois historical collections, which are published by the trustees of the State Historical Library.

2. Papers of a reminiscent character. These should be selected with great care; for memories and reminiscences are at their best an uncertain basis for historical knowledge.

3. Historical essays or brief monographs, based upon the sources and containing genuine contributions to knowledge. Such papers should be accompanied by foot-notes indicating with precision the authorities upon which the papers are based. The use of new and original material and the care with which the authorities are cited, will be one of the main factors in determining the selection of papers for publication.

4. Bibliographies.

5. Occasional reprints of books, pamphlets, or parts of books now out of print and not easily accessible.

Circular letters have been sent out from time to time urging the members of the Society to contribute such historical material, and appeals for it have been issued in the pages of the *Journal*. The committee desires to repeat and emphasize these requests.

It is the desire of the committee that this annual publication of the Society shall supplement, rather than parallel or rival, the distinctly official publications of the State Historical Library. In historical research, as in so many other fields, the best results are likely to be achieved through the coöperation of private initiative with public authority. It was to promote such coöperation and mutual undertaking that this Society was organized. Teachers of history, whether in schools or colleges, are especially urged to do their part in bringing to this publication the best results of local research and historical scholarship.

In conclusion it should be said that the views expressed in the various papers are those of their respective authors and not necessarily those of the committee. Nevertheless, the committee will be glad to receive such corrections of fact or such general criticism as may appear to be deserved.

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OFFICERS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. MAY 1910 TO MAY 1911.

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President.

Hon. Clark E. Carr.....Galesburg

First Vice President.

Hon. Smith D. Atkins.....Freeport

Second Vice President.

Hon. L. Y. Sherman.....Springfield

Third Vice President.

Hon. Andrew Russel.....Jacksonville

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Hon. J. O. Cunningham.....Urbana
George W. Smith, Southern Illinois Normal University....Carbondale
Hon. W. T. Norton.....Alton
Hon. William A. Meese.....Moline
Dr. Otto L. Schmidt.....Chicago
Richard V. Carpenter.....Belvidere
Edward C. Page, Northern Illinois State Normal School.....DeKalb
J. W. Clinton.....Polo

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Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber.....Springfield

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The Presidents of Local Historical Societies

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Robert H. Garm.....Beardstown
John S. Bagby.....Rushville
Dr. W. T. Burrows.....Ottawa
Henry S. Dixon.....Dixon
O. M. Dickerson, Western Illinois Normal School.....Macomb
Luke Dickerman.....Stillman Valley
James Gordon.....Oquawka
E. E. Nicholson.....Beardstown
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J. Seymour Currey.....Evanston

George W. Smith.....Carbondale
Elliot Callender.....Peoria
J. O. Cunningham.....Urbana
Mrs. Charles A. Webster.....Galesburg
J. Nick Perrin.....Belleville
Horace Hull.....Ottawa
Mrs. Mary Turner Carriel.....Jacksonville
L. J. Freese.....Eureka
General John I. Rinaker.....Carlinville
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J. J. McInerney.....Alton
Miss Anna B. Silver.....Philo
Miss Louise Maertz.....Quincy
Emil Mannhardt.....Chicago
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Charles L. Capen.....Bloomington
Daniel Berry, M.D.....Carmi
John M. Rapp.....Fairfield
Mrs. I. G. Miller.....Springfield
Mrs. C. C. Brown.....Springfield
William Jayne, M.D.....Springfield
George E. Dawson.....Chicago
A. W. Crawford.....Hillsboro
Mrs. E. M. Bacon.....Decatur
William F. Fowler.....Aurora
Andrew L. Anderson.....Lincoln
Smith D. Atkins.....Freeport
Sumner S. Anderson.....Charleston
S. W. Baxter.....East St. Louis
Mrs. Inez J. Bender.....Monticello
Charles Bent.....Morrison
Mrs. George D. Tunnicliff.....Macomb
Clark E. Carr, *ex officio*.....Galesburg

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Francis G. Blair, *Chairman*.....Springfield
Harry Ainsworth.....Moline
John E. Miller.....East St. Louis
J. S. Little.....Rushville
Charles B. Campbell.....Kankakee
Miss Lottie E. Jones.....Danville
Terry Simmons.....Marseilles
H. S. Hicks.....Rockford
Miss Sarah M. Gough.....El Paso

Lewis M. Gross.....Sycamore
Mrs. Lee J. Hubble.....Monmouth
Mrs. Leroy Bacchus.....Springfield
Mrs. G. H. Huntoon.....Moline
John H. Hauberg.....Moline
J. W. Houston.....Berwick
Clark E. Carr, *ex officio*.....Galesburg

Committee on Genealogy and Genealogical Publications.

Miss Georgia L. Osborne, *Chairman*.....Springfield
Mrs. E. S. Walker.....Springfield
Mrs. Thomas Worthington.....Jacksonville
Mrs. John C. Ames.....Streator
Miss May Latham.....Lincoln
Mrs. G. K. Hall.....Springfield
Mrs. E. G. Crabbe.....Corpus Christi, Texas
Norman G. Flagg.....Moro
Richard V. Carpenter.....Belvidere
Oliver R. Williamson.....Chicago
Dwight E. Frink.....Bloomington
John C. Foote.....Belvidere
Clark E. Carr, *ex officio*.....Galesburg

Committee on Archaeology.

J. H. Burnham, *Chairman*.....Bloomington
Prof. Frederick Starr.....Chicago
J. V. N. Standish.....Galesburg
Dr. William Jayne.....Springfield
Hon. W. T. Norton.....Alton
Clark E. Carr, *ex officio*.....Galesburg

Special Committee to Consider the Practicability, etc., of Asking the Next General Assembly for an Appropriation for the Construction of a Building for the Illinois State Historical Society and Library.

William A. Meese, *Chairman*.....Moline
J. H. Burnham.....Bloomington
E. B. Greene.....Urbana
Otto L. Schmidt.....Chicago
Richard V. Carpenter.....Belvidere

Special Committee to Confer with the Illinois Park Commission in Regard to a Comprehensive List of Historic Spots in Illinois.

William A. Meese, *Chairman*.....Moline
W. T. Norton.....Alton
E. B. Greene.....Urbana

PART I.

Record of Official Proceedings, 1910.

ELEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

SENATE CHAMBER, STATE CAPITOL,
SPRINGFIELD, ILL., May 5-6, 1910.

BUSINESS MEETING, THURSDAY, MAY 5, 1910, 10:00 O'CLOCK A. M.

The eleventh annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was held in the Senate Chamber of the State Capitol, May 5-6, 1910.

The session opened on Thursday morning at 10:00 o'clock, with the business meeting.

Colonel Clark E. Carr, who became president of the Society upon the death of Gen. Alfred Orendorff, presided.

The Society proceeded with the regular order of business.

The report of the secretary was read and approved. The report of the treasurer was read and approved.

The president called for reports of committees.

Prof. E. B. Greene, chairman of the Publication Committee, made a brief verbal report of the work of that committee.

The president called on Captain J. H. Burnham, chairman of the Committee on Local Historical Societies, for a report of that committee, which was read.

The report of the Committee on Genealogy and Genealogical Publications was read by Miss Georgia L. Osborne, chairman of the committee.

The president announced that Mr. William A. Meese of Moline had a very interesting report to make upon the marking of the route of Abraham Lincoln and his company in going to the Black Hawk War, and he called upon Mr. Meese to give his report.

Mr. Meese reported that by next fall the markers would be placed. He said the people in the locality of the line of march were anxious to have the work done and would donate the land for the markers and help raise the money, and with the $750.00 donated last year by Hon. Frank O. Lowden, they would be enabled to place even finer markers than at first expected.

The president called for the report of the Committee to Locate the Site of Fort Crève Cœur.

Captain J. H. Burnham, of Bloomington, said the committee was not ready to make a definite report. They had visited the several supposed sites of the old fort, and intended going again, but he was afraid it was most too large a matter for the committee to grapple with.

The president asked for reports of delegates from local historical societies.

The secretary read a letter from Mr. L. J. Freese, of the Woodford County Historical Society, who was unable to be present.

Dr. J. V. N. Standish read the report of the Knox County Historical Society.

Dr. A. O. Marshall, a delegate from the Will County Pioneer Society, told how he had attended Lombard University in 1861 and that Dr. Standish was his old professor and he had not met him from that day to this. The two gentlemen shook hands and some interesting reminiscences followed.

The president called for a report of the Illinois Colored Historical Society, and a very good report was read by Mrs. McClain.

Hon. William A. Meese moved that the chair appoint a nominating committee of five to recommend names of persons for officers for the year 1910-11.

The motion was seconded and carried.

The president appointed on this committee:

Hon. Andrew Russel, Jacksonville.
Mr. R. V. Carpenter, Belvidere.
Hon. H. W. Clendenin, Springfield.
Hon. William A. Meese, Moline.
Prof. J. A. James, Evanston.
Prof. J. H. Collins, Springfield.

The committee retired to decide upon the names.

The president called for some remarks from Mr. J. N. Gridley, of Virginia, Ill., who was introduced by Rev. E. K. Crews, of Pleasant Plains.

The president called for other business.

Captain J. H. Burnham reminded the Society that next year would be the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of the War of 1861, and that it had been suggested that perhaps it would be wise to take some special notice at the next year's meeting.

Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber announced that she had a communication from Professor Parker, president of the Illinois Outdoor Association, asking the coöperation of the Illinois State Historical Society, and inviting it to attend their meeting to be held the last of May.

Dr. Standish made a few remarks along this line and this was followed by a short talk from Captain Burnham about preserving Starved Rock and making it a State park. He said not only Starved Rock should be taken care of, but there were other historic spots in Illinois that needed public attention.

Mr. E. C. Page, of DeKalb county, spoke briefly on the way false statements had been repeatedly published in county histories and county newspapers in regard to historic spots. He urged the Society to take pains to have these statements corrected.

Mr. Russel, from the Nominating Committee, stated that the committee was ready to make a report, and, upon being directed to report, the following names were read as recommended to the Society for its officers for the coming year:

President, Hon. Clark E. Carr, Galesburg.
First Vice President, Hon. Smith D. Atkins, Freeport.
Second Vice President, Hon. L. Y. Sherman, Springfield.
Third Vice President, Hon. Andrew Russel, Jacksonville.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

Edmund J. James, President of the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.
M. H. Chamberlin, Lebanon.
Hon. Richard Yates, Springfield.
J. H. Burnham, Bloomington.
E. B. Greene, University of Illinois, Champaign.
Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield.
Hon. Wm. H. Collins, Quincy.
Hon. J. O. Cunningham, Urbana.
George W. Smith, Southern Illinois Normal University, Carbondale.
Hon. W. T. Norton, Alton.
Hon. Wm. A. Meese, Moline.
Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, Chicago.
J. W. Clinton, Polo.
Richard V. Carpenter, Belvidere.
Edward C. Page, DeKalb.

It was moved and seconded that the officers be elected as recommended. The question was put by Mr. Russel and the motion carried.

There being no further business, the Society adjourned to meet in the afternoon in the literary session. The literary sessions were carried out according to the printed program. At the close of Mr. Ensley Moore's address on General Grant's First March, Mr. T. J. Crowder gave some reminiscences of General Grant at Camp Yates. His remarks were in part as follows:

"I was present when the regiment was turned over to Grant at Camp Yates, and his first order to the regiment was 'Men, go to your quarters.' I lived within a mile and a half of Camp Yates on what is now Washington Park. Having two dear friends who were members of the regiment, my wife and I went to the roadside to bid them goodbye, and as the men marched along they were making remarks embarrassing to my wife. Grant, hearing it, came forward and stopped it at once, which was greatly to our relief and we cherish it as a very pleasant reminiscence."

At the close of Judge H. J. Strawn's address on the English Settlements in Edwards county, the following resolution was offered and adopted:

WHEREAS, Morris Birkbeck, one of the founders of the English Settlement in Edwards county, Illinois, by his able writings and arduous labors contributed largely, not only to the people of Illinois, but to the United States in general, and was largely instrumental in preserving our State from the blighting curse of human slavery and in its upbuilding along moral, intellectual and financial lines, having been the first president of the State Agricultural Society, and having been an able lieutenant to Governor Coles in his fight for human liberty and equal rights; and

WHEREAS, No suitable recognition has ever been given to the memory of our distinguished fellow citizen; and

WHEREAS, There is a movement on foot to erect a memorial hall on the campus of the Southern Collegiate Institute, an institution of higher learning in his old home in Edwards county; therefore be it

Resolved, By the State Historical Society of the State of Illinois, that we heartily commend the erection of such memorial building at the old home of Morris Birkbeck as a fitting tribute to his eminent services, and pledge our hearty support to the movement.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY 14, 1909, TO MAY 5, 1910.

To the Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society:

GENTLEMEN—I beg to submit to you my report of the work of the Society for the past year.

The Society has lost by the hand of death since its last annual meeting its president and protecting friend, General Alfred Orendorff. The board of directors took note officially of this sad event at its meeting of Dec. 2, 1909, at which time the secretary was directed to invite some competent person to deliver an address at this meeting upon the death of our president. I consulted with the members of the family of General Orendorff as to their preference in the matter, and Hon. James A. Creighton has been invited and will deliver an address at this meeting on the life of General Orendorff. Since the death of the president of the Society, Col. Clark E. Carr, the first vice president, has been acting as its president.

In spite of the death of the president of the Society and of several of the active members, it has been a year of growth and prosperity. We have had a large number of new members added to our list. One member of the Society alone has succeeded in procuring about fifty new members in his county. If each active member of this Society should this year procure one new member it would mean an addition of 800 members; for, exclusive of our honorary and newspaper members, we have more than 800 members; and including all classes—honorary, press association, life and active members—we count 1,000 strong.

This year one of our women members has become a life member and she is a pioneer, being the first woman to become a life member of the Society.

The interest in the Society and its work is growing throughout this and other States, and many newspapers have commended our work and urged their patrons to assist the Society. A good deal of this interest may, I think, be fairly given to the quarterly *Journal* of the Society.

The *Journal* is receiving favorable comment from many sources. The board of editors of the *Journal* ask members of the Society to contribute to its pages and to make suggestions to the editors. This organ of the Society is, we believe, improving with each issue, and the editors hope

that it may in time become a model publication of this class. We beg, as I have said, for advice and assistance for the *Journal* in attaining this goal.

The committees of the Society are urged to greater activity. We will have reports from several of them, and I suggest that some plans be devised to enable members of committees to more clearly understand their duties, and that chairmen of committees make attempts to hold more meetings of their committees.

I will also repeat what I have said to you in other reports, that I think the Society ought to hold special meetings to celebrate historic anniversaries or events. These might be special lectures, or be held with local societies, for I believe some of them should be held in different localities. We have been invited by the LaSalle County Society to meet at Starved Rock. This, I think, is a most admirable suggestion. I would also like to attend a meeting in the neighborhood of Kaskaskia, and I am still hoping that exercises will be held at the dedication of the monument to Governor Bond. This celebration, a local one, was planned, but the date of it has been postponed a time or two.

The correspondence of the secretary of the Society is very heavy, and we do a great deal of research work for our correspondents, students and for the other departments in the State House.

As President James is to give a review of the work of the Historical Library, I will not, as I have heretofore done, tell you of the collections and purchases and other work of the Library. The work of the secretary of the Society and of the librarian of the Library go so closely hand in hand that I find it difficult to separate them in making a report. The *Journal* gave a list of the books purchased by the Library in England. This is a most valuable addition to the Library. The collection of old files of newspapers is being vigorously made and the Department of Genealogy is making long strides. The chairman of the Genealogical Committee will report on some of the most important additions to the collection.

The Program Committee would like to have members of the Society make suggestions as to topics of State and Western history, upon which they would like to hear papers at the annual meetings. The committee will also be glad to know of persons who might contribute addresses for the annual meeting, manuscripts, old letters, etc., for the Department of Contributions to State History in the annual transactions of the Society or, as has been before mentioned in this report, material suitable for publication in the *Journal*.

In the current number of the *Journal* we have published a circular letter asking for this kind of contributions. The president of the Society has appointed a Committee on Archæology, and it is hoped and believed that this committee will evolve some plan for calling public attention to the important archæological remains in the Mississippi valley. So much has been said about the Great Cahokia or Monk's Mound, which is located in the southern part of Madison county, Ill., and which is one of the greatest and most interesting specimens in America, that I will not now repeat it. The Illinois Park Commission created by the last General Assembly for the especial purpose of trying to preserve

Starved Rock, has authority also to consider the claims of other historic places. By the direction of the directors of the Society, I called the attention of the Park Commission to the Great Cahokia Mound, and they have agreed to consider it. In the 1908 Transactions and in the January *Journal* full accounts were given of the important gift to the Historical Society by Mr. Clinton L. Conkling of Springfield of the original letter of Mr. Lincoln addressed to Hon. J. C. Conkling, Mr. Clinton L. Conkling's father, which was read at the Union Mass Meeting of September 3, 1863. In addition to this letter, Mr. Conkling presented a short letter wholly in the handwriting of Mr. Lincoln, transmitting the letter to be read at the mass meeting and two telegrams in regard to the same matter. These valuable gifts have been acknowledged, but I suggest that the Society take some action upon Mr. Conkling's generous gift.

Miss Louise I. Enos of this city has presented to the Society some rare early laws of the State, all valuable, some volumes excessively so. Miss Enos has also made other valuable contributions.

Mr. Dan Sheen, of Peoria, owns some property on which he believes was located LaSalle's Fort Crève Cœur. He asked that the Historical Society investigate the remnants or remains on this land, and at least attempt to form an opinion as to the probability of this being the location of the disputed French fort. Accordingly a committee of the Society visited Peoria for the purpose of looking over the ground and the remains of the fort. I hope that a member of this committee will tell the Society about their visit. I have received a letter lately from Mr. Sheen, asking the committee to make another visit to the location of the supposed old fort.

You will remember that at our last meeting Hon. Frank O. Lowden offered us a generous gift. We hope to hear from the committee today in regard to it.

I have to report the deaths of several of our members. Some of them have been noticed in the *Journal* and some occurred before our last annual meeting, but had not been called to my attention until a later date. I again beg the members of the Society to inform me of deaths in our membership. The Society is so large and the membership is so scattered over the State, that unless the deaths are noticed in the city papers and associated press dispatches, I have no means of learning of them. I have several times caused the family of the deceased member much pain and myself much mortification by sending books and other notices addressed to the deceased member of the Society. Will the members kindly bear this in mind? The names of the deceased members, so far as they are known to the Society, are:

Col. Risdon M. Moore, San Antonio, Tex.
Col. W. L. Gross, Springfield, Ill.
Hon. Thomas Lowry, Minneapolis, Minn.
Mr. Henry C. Withers, Carrollton, Ill.
Hon. George A. Sanders, Springfield, Ill.
Dr. A. W. French, Springfield, Ill.
Dr. Marcus P. Hatfield, Chicago.
Hon. R. W. Mills, Jacksonville, Ill.
Mr. H. C. Todd, Oak Park, Ill.
Gen. Alfred Orendorff, Springfield, Ill.

Mrs. Louisa I. Black, Springfield, Ill.
Rev. John B. Fairbanks, Jacksonville, Ill.
Mr. John W. Good of Moline, Ill., who died in far away India.

I do not know exactly as to who is our oldest member, but I rather incline to give the honor to Dr. Samuel Willard of Chicago, and I am sure that our youngest member is McLaren Fox of Fairfield, though we have a number of student members, both young men and young women.

As I have said, I will not touch upon the work of the Library, because President James is to do that in a larger and far better way than I can do; but I wish to once more call your attention to the crowded condition of the Library. We are crowded in every branch of our work. A gentleman said to me that the Library Board ought to provide a handsome case for the collection of books already mentioned as having been purchased in Europe. I said I am sure that the Library Board will see the necessity of the case and will gladly purchase it, if I can show them the space in the Library where the case can be placed when purchased. The collection of Lincolniana continues to grow and our walls are overcrowded. We have no space for additions, and our frames of material illustrating other and very interesting phases of State history are stored away. We are unable to place the files of the newspapers. These papers are packed away. In every single line of our work we are hampered for want of room. Does not the Society feel that we are very near the time when we must besiege the Legislature for an appropriation for a building? Are we willing to remain behind our neighboring states of Wisconsin and Iowa? Are we willing to have our students compelled to go to Madison or Albany for their source materials? Dr. J. F. Snyder has spent years in collecting a great archæological and anthropological collection and he wishes to give it to this Society, but he makes the necessary stipulation that we provide for its reception a fire-proof building. This at present we are unable to do. Gentlemen and ladies, I think the time is at hand when we must face the question of a building for the Historical Society and its growing needs. It must not be decided hurriedly, it must not be decided from a narrow point of view. We must soberly and thoughtfully consider the question, and when we have formulated a good plan and submitted it to the proper persons to advise us as to its legal correctness in form and manner, and adjusted it to meet the requirements of the interests concerned in it, we ought to work hard for it, and we ought to work in harmony.

Very respectfully,

Jessie Palmer Weber.

REPORT OF TREASURER.

May, 1909, to May, 1910.

RECEIPTS.		
Balance on hand from 1908	$145 72	
Dues received from members of the society	385 00	
Total receipts		$530 72
EXPENDITURES.		
EXPENDITURES, MAY, 1909-MAY, 1910.		
Miss C. E. Benneson, expenses	$69 75	
Expenses, Gen. Chas. R. Partridge	23 50	
Miss Bessie O'Brien, services	25 00	
R. L. Berry, piano	4 00	
Maldaner & Son, supplies	39 75	
Mrs. Jennie Howey, supplies	6 50	
H. L. Phelps, supplies	23 00	
Bell Miller, supplies	4 50	
Leland Livery Co., carriage for speakers	3 50	
Transfer Co., hauling	1 50	
L. E. Wheeler, postage	60 00	
Illinois Journal Co., printing	22 50	
W. W. Owens, labor	8 00	
Total expenditures		291 50
Balance		$229 22

DIRECTORS' MEETING.

SPRINGFIELD, May 5, 1910.

The Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society met in the office of the secretary, Thursday morning, May 5, 1910, at 9:30 o'clock. There were present: Messrs. Carr, Greene, Schmidt, Meese, Clinton, Norton, Russel, Burnham and the secretary, Mrs. Weber.

President Carr presided. The report of the secretary was read, accepted and approved, and it was voted that it be read in the business meeting of the Society and published in the next number of the *Journal*.

The report of the treasurer was read, accepted and approved and it was directed that it be read in the business meeting of the Society.

The secretary of the Society was directed to express the thanks of the Board of Directors to Miss Louise I. Enos and to Mr. Clinton L. Conkling, both of Springfield, for generous gifts to the Society and Library. Captain Burnham moved that a committee of three be appointed to confer with the State Park Commission on the marking of historic sites in the State. The chair appointed Messrs. Meese, Greene and Norton as this committee, and the committee was requested to prepare a comprehensive list of such places throughout the entire State.

Mr. Meese reported for the committee on marking the route of Mr. Lincoln's army on its march from Beardstown to the Rock River country that there had been some misunderstanding as to the appointment or formation of the committee, and suggested that a new committee be appointed or that additions be made to the original committee with one member from Beardstown, Ottawa, Dixon, Prophetstown and Macomb. Professor Greene moved, and it was seconded by Mr. Clinton, that Mr. Meese be requested and authorized to name additional members from the towns where markers are to be placed. This motion was voted upon and carried.

The secretary reported a visit made by a committee of the Society on the invitation of Mr. Dan Sheen to the neighborhood of Peoria to inspect some land owned by Mr. Sheen, with a view of considering the property as the site of old Fort Crève Cœur. It was voted that this committee be continued.

The question of a building for the Historical Society and allied interests was considered and the board especially commended the idea and urged that the Society use every effort to secure such a building.

The Board of Directors then adjourned to meet at 1:30 o'clock of the same day.

1:30 O'Clock, May 5, 1910.

The Board of Directors met in adjourned session at 1:30 o'clock, and the new board was organized by the election of Hon. Clark E. Carr as president of the board and Jessie Palmer Weber was elected secretary and treasurer.

Captain Burnham suggested some change in the plan of the program of the annual meetings in order that the directors may have more time for the transaction of the business of the Society.

Captain Burnham asked the opinion of Professor Greene on this point.

Professor Greene suggested some changes. It was voted that the chair appoint a special committee to formulate a plan for the program, of which the chairman of the Program Committee be a member, with three other members.

The formation of the committees for the year was considered and it was decided that as the membership of the Society is so large, that large committees be appointed in order that more members be given places on committees, but that three members constitute a quorum of any committee.

The committees were appointed.

The matter of by-laws for the Society was considered. Captain Burnham said that the Society never had by-laws, its constitution being its rule of action.

It was moved by Mr. Clinton and seconded by Mr. Russel that the matter of constitution and by-laws be referred to the president and secretary with power to act.

This motion was voted upon and carried.

Professor Greene said that the year of the next annual meeting (1911) will be the fiftieth anniversary of the breaking out of the Civil War and suggested that some special observance of this anniversary be made. It was voted that the attention of the Program Committee be called to this historic date, with the suggestion that it be observed.

Professor Page spoke of the unreliability of some county histories and suggested that the Historical Society make an effort to assist in correcting errors where known and attempting to secure more reliable work in the future.

The secretary was directed to tender the thanks of the directors to the ladies and gentlemen who contributed addresses and papers at this annual meeting.

There being no further business, the session of the Board of Directors adjourned.

Communication from Dr. Snyder, Who Declines the Chairmanship of the Committee on Archaeology.

Among the proceedings of the Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society, at their meeting held at Springfield on Dec. 2, 1909, was the following: "The directors desire that Dr. Snyder be chairman

of the Committee on Archaeology, if he will accept it, and the secretary and Captain Burnham were asked to find out from Dr. Snyder whether or not he will accept the chairmanship of the committee."

To their inquiry the secretary and Captain Burnham received this answer:

VIRGINIA, ILL., Jan. 1, 1910.

Mrs. Weber and Capt. Burnham:

The State Historical Society of every state in the Union, with the exception of that of Illinois, considers the study of pre-historic anthropology a very important preliminary to its recorded state history. The Historical Society of New York has collected and preserved in its museum, representative specimens of all its antiquities, and fully described them in several large, well-illustrated volumes. The State Historical Society of Ohio has surveyed and mapped the mounds and other remains of the arts and industries of its aborigines, and described them in enduring volumes of great value, and has one of the finest and most extensive collections of Indian relics in the Mississippi Valley. The Missouri Historical Society, of St. Louis, has over 30,000 relics of pre-historic Indian art, many of the finest and rarest of them procured from the American Bottom and other localities in Illinois. This wise and scholarly attention to archaeology has been manifested, to a greater or less extent, by the historical societies of all the states but this.

A very promising beginning for this study was made by this State about twenty-five years ago. By some inexplicable influence, Wm. McAdams, an indefatigable relic hunter, succeeded in selling to the State an archaeological collection he had made, which he properly arranged in two large upright cases in the State Geological Museum.

As you know, I was one of the founders of the Illinois State Historical Society, and entered upon the work of its promotion with much enthusiasm. Retired from all active business, I expected to devote the remainder of my days to its advancement; and fondly hoped to see it made the equal, in standing, efficiency, and usefulness, of any similar organization in this country. To the Department of Illinois Archaeology—then, as now, wholly neglected—I wished to bestow especial attention, and by every effort of mine, try to compensate for lost time in its development. When the State Historical Library was about to be installed in its present quarters, then occupied by the State Geological Museum, but in process of removal to the Arsenal building, I begged my superiors in authority to retain the two McAdams cases, to serve as a nucleus for a State archaeological collection under the auspices of the State Historical Society, offering, if that was done, to add to them, as a donation, my own collection, representing the labor and study of a life-time and the outlay of quite a sum of money.

My suggestion and offer were not thought worthy of consideration, or even of a courteous answer, by my superiors in authority, and the two McAdams cases were removed, with the balance of the museum, to the Arsenal, where they now are. This rebuff was followed by another much more mortifying to me, when the very promising prospects of the embryo State Historical Society of Illinois were effectually aborted by degrading it to a mere appendage of the Historical Library—thoroughly emasculating it by depriving it of every power and function that gives to a State Historical Society—its influence and vitality.

As the same superior authorities still dominate the State Historical Society, maintaining the same restrictive and repressing policy in its management, any further effort on my part to promote interest in the study of Illinois archaeology, or to elevate the society to a higher and independent plane, would be not only futile but farcical. I therefore decline the honor you tender me of chairmanship of your Committee on Archaeology.

Sincerely yours,

J. F. SNYDER.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

COMMITTEE ON GENEALOGY.

To the Officers and Members of the Illinois State Historical Society:

Your Committee on Genealogy and Genealogical Publications begs leave to submit the following report:

The interest in the department and its collection is increasing daily, and it would take the attention of one person all the time to take charge of this department of the library as it should be kept up. Since our last report published in the Journal of the society, October, 1908, we have added some valuable works on Genealogy, among them should be mentioned, the complete set of the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, 64 volumes, from Vol. I, 1847 to 1910; An Index to Savage's Genealogical Dictionary, compiled by O. P. Dexter; The North Carolina Colonial Records, 26 volumes, covering the period, 1622-1790; Hunter's Sketches of North Carolina; Wheeler's Historical Sketches of North Carolina, 1584-1851; Gibbes' Documentary History of the American Revolution, relating particularly to South Carolina; Histories of Albermarle and Augusta Counties, Virginia; Hayden's Virginia Genealogies; Virginia Cousins, by G. Brown Goode; Slaughter's Bristol Parish, Virginia; Lewis' Orderly Book of that portion of the American Army Stationed at or near Williamsburg, Virginia, March 18, 1776 to August 28, 1776; Illinois Pension Rolls, 1816-1835; Order of the Cincinnati, Institution and Proceedings of the Society, May 10, 1783, published in Boston, 1812, also Order of in France, Organization and History of.

The Library has received the following gifts of family histories:

Yates Family Chart and short family history; from the Hon. Richard Yates, Springfield, Ill.

Beall and Edwards Family History; from Mr. Albert S. Edwards, Springfield, Ill.

Hall Family History; from Mrs. Sophie Fidelia Hall Coe, of Meriden, Conn.

We wish again to call your attention to the matter of family histories of Illinoisans. If you know of one being compiled or any data available concerning pioneer families of the State, please notify us and we will try and secure all such for the department.

Respectfully submitted, May 5, 1910,

GEORGIA L. OSBORNE,
Chairman Committee on Genealogy and Genealogical Publications.

COMMITTEE ON LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., May 5, 1910.

Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield, Ill.:

Your Committee on Local Historical Societies believe that many of these organizations are doing better work than ever before and that future prospects taken as a whole are quite satisfactory.

We recommend that our Journal commence the publication of the names of the officers of these societies as soon as possible, together with a brief condensation of line of work and methods of each society, and that through this Journal the State Society shall as far as practicable foster the interests of the local societies.

We also advise the formation of some plan similar to the one adopted by the local societies of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. This is a district plan under which our local societies may hold occasional meetings made up of officers and interested members at some central point, and thus instruct and assist each other in historical questions of State, county or neighborhood interest.

We will venture to suggest five places which may each be convenient to perhaps a half dozen societies, although upon further conference and consideration some changes may be found advisable. The new Cook County Historical Society has already set forth as one of its objects the idea of holding such meetings for societies convenient to Chicago. It may be that Quincy, Moline, Alton and Peoria will be found to be satisfactory locations for other district meetings. Each one of the places indicated is rich in historical associations, and at each locality may be met enthusiastic historical students and investigators ready and willing, we assume, to assist other enthusiasts.

This plan is simply suggestive and may be enlarged or modified if desired. Your committee hopes that our many local historical societies will make greater advances in 1910 than in any previous year.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

J. H. Burnham,
J. W. Clinton,
Committee on Local Historical Societies.

REPORTS OF LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

Knox County Historical Society.

The Knox County Historical Society was organized in December, 1905.

The object of the organization, as outlined in the constitution, is to "collect data and material relating to the history of Knox county and vicinity, and to arrange for its preservation; to encourage persons to donate, or to loan to the society such data, material or articles as will illustrate the pioneer and later life in the county and in this part of the State, to promote a love for historical study, and to coöperate with like organizations in other parts of Illinois."

The President, Col. Clark E. Carr; Secretary, Mrs. Chas. Ashley Webster and Treasurer, James H. Losey, elected at the first meeting have been retained in their respective offices until the present time. Dr. J. V. N. Standish, who was elected chairman of the vice presidents-at-large, has also remained in office since that time. In the other offices there has been an occasional change. The present officers are as follows:

President, Clark E. Carr.
Vice President, W. H. Wilcox.
Secretary, Martha Farnham Webster.
Treasurer, James H. Losey.
Custodian, L. T. Stone.
Librarian, Anna F. Hoover.
Vice Presidents-at-Large—J. V. N. Standish, Fred R. Jelliff, Geo. S. Chalmers, M. D., F. W. Latimer, Ray M. Arnold.

There are also vice presidents from each of the twenty townships in the county.

A number of important and very interesting historical papers have been read before the society, some of the more notable among them being the following: A paper read by Dr. J. V. N. Standish on "The Old Court House of Knox County," in which he minutely described the remarkable resemblance of this old building to an ancient Grecian temple. It is a copy of a Grecian temple. The Metapes and the Triglyphs are there, and the Doric columns with their sixteen flutings, the number usually found in the Greek temples throughout Sicily and Greece, and proved his position by comparing their architectural features in detail: "The Early Schools in Galesburg," by Mrs. M. E. Gettemy, for many years principal of the Galesburg High School; "The Early Bar of Knox County," by Hon. E. P. Williams, who is styled "the Nestor of the Knox County Bar;" "Personal Reminiscences of Early Galesburg," by Erastus S. Willcox, Librarian of the Peoria Public Library; "Early Schools and Methods of Instruction in Galesburg," by Milton L. Comstock, Professor in Knox College, deceased; "Reminiscences of Early Days," by E. P. Chambers; "Early Music in Galesburg," by Mrs. J. T. Avery; "The Indians and Their White Neighbors of the Spoon River Country," by Miss Jennie McKenney of Maquon; "The Indians of Illinois," by Attorney C. C. Craig, illustrated by a very fine display of Indian relics belonging to County Sheriff R. G. Matthews; "The Surface Formation of Knox County," by Editor F. R. Jelliff; "The History of the Galesburg

Postoffice," by Col. Clark E. Carr, Postmaster in Galesburg for twenty-four years. Other papers of a reminiscent or historic character, by Mrs. C. A. Hinckley, E. P. Williams, Chas. A. Webster, and the last valuable contribution to our history, "The History of the Public School System of Galesburg," by Prof. W. L. Steele, Superintendent of the Galesburg Public Schools.

We have started a museum of relics and a library of manuscripts and books of historic interest and value, (locally), but nothing that would interest the general public.

Woodford County Historical Society.

The past year has been a profitable one for our society. At the June meeting, which was made a round table conference, a full report was presented of the joint celebration by our Historical Society and the Old Settlers' Association of the Speeches of Lincoln and Douglas at Metamora, in 1858, the latter speaking September 30, the former October 4. There existed considerable doubt as to the dates on which these men appeared at Metamora until the files of papers published at that time, now in the libraries of the historical societies at Springfield and Chicago were consulted. The search revealed the fact that they spoke on the dates above given.

Our annual meeting was held December 9th in the circuit court room of the court house before a large and intelligent audience. We had a printed program of choice music and two strong addresses by Hon. J. A. Ranney of Metamora and Prof. B. J. Radford of Eureka, both members of the society. The former spoke on "The Early Settlers of Woodford County," the latter on "The Pioneer Home." Another interesting feature of the program was the exhibit of old and rare articles. A request had previously been made in all the newspapers published in the county for those who had suitable articles for the exhibit to send or bring them to the meeting for that purpose. Through this channel, with the personal work of the secretary, Miss Amanda Jennings, a large number of relics were collected and displayed in the front part of the room on tables. The following is a partial list:

1. Hackle; brought to Illinois,1835. Donated to the society by Mr. Foster.
2. Reel; a wedding present to Mrs. Mary Williams Parke, who was married to Chas. S. Parke, 1814.
3. Corn Planter (double row); used by John Foster 50 years ago. Donated by W. H. Smith.
4. Deed; dated "Colony of Connecticut, April 3, 1775," written in Old English. Loaned by Amanda Jennings.
5. Sale bill; dated 1830, reciting, "Sheep and other articles too tedious to mention." Loaned by Amanda Jennings.
6. Spectacle case; brought from North Carolina to Kentucky in 1791, by Timothy Parke. Loaned by Amanda Jennings.
7. Bound Magazines; Chambers' Information for the People, published in Scotland, 1842. Loaned by Amanda Jennings.
8. Pitchfork; made by hand, 1835. Loaned by Amanda Jennings.
9. Candlestick; loaned by Mrs. Mary Bullock.
10. Sugar bowl; brought to Illinois from Indiana in 1833. Loaned by Mrs. Mary Bullock.
11. Dutch oven; made in 1819. Loaned by Miss Elmira Dickinson.
12. Oil painting, made in 1819. Loaned by Miss Dickinson.
13. Lard lamp; brought from Germany, 75 years old. Loaned by Mrs. Klophkinstein.
14. Cane; 150 years old. Loaned by Mrs. Klophkinstein.

15. Wheel; loaned by Mrs. Klophkinstein.
16. German bible; published in 1735. Loaned by John Kaufman.
17. Gazetteer, 1837. Loaned by John Kaufman.
18. German song book, 1762. Loaned by John Kaufman.
19. Hand sickle. Loaned by John Kaufman.
20. Harness hames; 100 years old. Loaned by John Kaufman.
21. "Don Quixote," 1803. Loaned by Mrs. Ruth Major.
22. Seth Thomas Clock; wooden works, 100 years old. Loaned by S. W. Thomb.
23. Lamp; used to light Mount Zion Church, 1835.
24. Coins. Loaned by Amos Marshall.
25. Apple peeler. Loaned by Mrs. W. J. Jennings.
26. Candle snuffers; 100 years old. Loaned by L. J. Freese.
27. Physician's lance; brought from Germany, 140 years old. Loaned by L. J. Freese.
28. Candle stick, 140 years old. Loaned by L. J. Freese.
29. Men's English boots. Loaned by G. W. Freese.
30. Ladies' English shoes. Loaned by G. W. Freese.
31. Candle molds; brought from Ohio, 1858, bought in 1848, price 37½ cents. Loaned by Mrs. G. M. Freese.
32. Wooden butter print; 60 years old. Loaned by Mrs. G. M. Freese.
33. Tin lantern. Loaned by Mrs. Klophkinstein.
34. Gun; 75 years old. Loaned by Mrs. Klophkinstein.
35. Powder horn; 100 years old. Loaned by Mrs. Klophkinstein.
36. Pewter tea pot; 100 years old. Loaned by Mrs. Klophkinstein.
37. Tea chest; brought from England. Loaned by Mrs. Joe Major.
38. Watch; 150 years old. Loaned by Mrs. Joe Major.
39. Candle snuffers; 75 years old. Loaned by Mrs. Joe Major.
40. Warming pan. Loaned by Mrs. Joe Major.
41. Hackle, 1796, with these words engraved, "Not to be Lent." But loaned by Mrs. E. Payne.
42. Whetstone; 150 years old. Loaned by S. W. Thomb.
43. Ink well; having four compartments, 200 years old. Loaned by G. W. Kerr.
44. Razor; 150 years old. Loaned by Amos Marshall.
45. Smith's Arithmetic; 55 years old. Loaned by Amos Marshall.
46. Sword; secured from the Philippines in the Spanish-American War by R. D. Smith. Loaned by R. D. Smith, Jr.
47. Book; "Origin and Progress of Languages." Used in S. S. Library, 1851. Loaned by R. B. Dickinson.
48. Bed spread; woven 70 years ago by Mrs. R. Jones. Loaned by Mrs. R. B. Dickinson.
49. Physician's scales; used in 1837 by A. G. Ewing. Loaned by Mrs. W. A. Davidson.
50. Diploma; granted A. G. Ewing by A. Jackson and signed by A. Campbell at Nashville, Tenn., Oct. 4, 1826.
51. Old English coins. Loaned by Amos Marshall.

Quite a number of books, aside from the publications from the State Historical Society, were presented at this meeting. Steps are now being taken to secure a suitable case for the books belonging to the society.

We have an enrollment of forty members. Five names were added at the last meeting.

The public is interested in the doings of the society, and our meetings are well attended.

It is our purpose to presently publish a Journal. We lack funds to do so at this time.

Very respectfully,

L. J. Freese.

COLORED HISTORICAL SOCIETY, SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., May 5, 1910.

To the President, Officers and Members of the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society:

GREETING—Another year with its vicissitudes and changes has passed away and through the mercies of Divine Providence, we have again been permitted to meet in our annual meeting. As representatives we should be glad to meet each other and to grasp the friendly hand and extend a greeting which may awaken in us emotions of deep and profound gratitude. As we look around us, we are reminded that many whom we have known and honored in the past, have been called from labor to rest, and others by infirmities of age and various conditions, no doubt, are prevented from being present with us today. We send as delegates to represent us in your annual meeting, Dr. J. H. Magee, president; Mesdames J. C. McClain, C. H. Morgan and Hattie McTier.

LOCAL'S CONDITION.

It is with pleasure I now submit the annual report of the Colored Local Historical Society of the city of Springfield.

Our president, Dr. J. H. Magee, with his official staff of officers has accomplished much good work during the year. We are glad to say our untiring president has been able through his active service to enlist many of our leading men and women of our race to take an active part in our work during the past year, such as ministers, doctors, lawyers and some very noted orators and musicians of high rank. We succeeded in holding two or more public meetings, which were attended by more than 800 persons. At each of these meetings we listened to able addresses, and historical papers, which proved to arouse and awaken new life in our society. We, at our private meetings, have talks on the life works of our pioneers. We now wish to mention a few of our speakers who have appeared before us with creditable papers and addresses, namely: Prof. R. A. Byrd of Quincy, Ill.; Rev. J. M. Smalley, Maj. Otis Duncan, Dr. N. B. Ford and Rev. E. T. Cottman, all of this city. Our ladies also have contributed many papers worthy of mention. We hope by another year to get our work in full print, as we have been discussing the life work of Lincoln, Frederick Douglass, Phylis Wheatley and Francis E. Harper; these lives we feel are worthy of emulation.

Names of our officers are as follows:

President, Dr. J. H. Magee.

Vice President, Mrs. M. Hicklin.

Treasurer, Julia Duncan.

Secretary, J. C. McClain.

Number of members enrolled, 60; number of active members, 40; number regular meetings held, 6.

The special observance during the year was the celebration of Lincoln's birthday on the evening of the 12th of February, 1910, at the Union Baptist Church, corner of 12th and Mason streets. This was an occasion, which brought out more than 500 colored people, and we had a chorus of more than 120 voices singing those grand old patriotic songs of old.

We wish to say we are collecting books for a library and have now several volumes on hand. Also preserving valuable papers, which have been read at our meetings, and desire to have them printed some day soon.

Respectfully submitted,

DR. J. H. MAGEE, *President,*

(MRS.) J. C. MCCLAIN, *Secretary.*

Address of secretary, 2112 S. 9th street.

PART II.

Papers Read at the Annual Meeting,

1910.

ELEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

HELD IN THE CAPITOL BUILDING AT SPRINGFIELD, THURSDAY AND FRIDAY, MAY 5TH AND 6TH, 1910.

PROGRAM OF LITERARY EXERCISES.

Annual Address—"The West and the Growth of the National Ideal," F. L. Paxson, Ph. D., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Address—"Some Illinois Editors I Have Known," Gen. Smith D. Atkins, Freeport, Ill.

Address—"Negro Slavery in Illinois," Hon. John P. Hand, Cambridge, Ill.

Address—"The English Settlements in Edwards County, Ill.," Hon. H. J. Strawn, Albion, Ill.

Address—"The Life and Services of Alfred Orendorff, Late President of the Illinois State Historical Society," Hon. James A. Creighton, Springfield, Ill.

Lecture with Stereopticon Views—"The Archaeology of the Mississippi Valley," Dr. Warren K. Moorehead, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass.

Address—"Grant's First March," Ensley Moore, Jacksonville, Ill.

Address—"Illinois and the Revolution in the West, 1779-1780," J. A. James, Ph. D., Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

"A Brief Sketch of the Work of the Illinois State Historical Library," President E. J. James, University of Illinois.

Address—"The Ninety-sixth Illinois at Chickamauga," Gen. Charles A. Partridge, Chicago, Ill.

Address—"The Illinois Bill of Rights," Herman G. James, J. D., Urbana, Ill.

Address—Mrs. S. P. Wheeler, Springfield, Ill.

Address—"The Kensington Runestone," Geo. T. Flom, Ph. D., Urbana, Ill.

Reception in Illinois State Library.

THE WEST AND THE GROWTH OF THE NATIONAL IDEAL.

(By Frederic L. Paxson, Ph. D., University of Michigan.)

Some three months ago it was my good fortune to bring out a little book on the last West, covering the two generations which followed the election of Andrew Jackson. The book was intended for the lay public, but it was based upon studies in the original materials of western history, and it included only a few of the results of those studies. In it I was dealing with historical narrative, having a plain story to tell. Interpretation and argument found there no place; but your kind invitation to address this society tonight offered the opportunity to attempt to explain one of the changes which the passing of the frontier brought about.

The student of American history during the eighties may well note two facts which stand out above all the rest of that transitional decade. One is the election of Grover Cleveland; the other is the tendency to re-arrange business and traffic on national lines. The former appears to deal with politics; the latter with economics. But to the sympathetic student they are only the different sides of the same fact that the United States, in some mysterious and unexplained fashion, had become a nation. The old order had given way so easily that the new had come unheralded to life.

The election of Grover Cleveland marked, in large measure, the revulsion of feeling that occurred when the country realized that concentration and nationalization were upon it. To "stalwart" Republicans, and to "half-breeds" as well, it seemed to say either that treason was no longer odious, or that political unwisdom had reaped its sure reward. Yet the political diagnosis was neither accurate nor frank. If you will read in the files of the periodicals of that decade you will find abundant evidence of three facts, the realization of centralizing tendency, the distaste for the same, and a disposition to hold the Republican party accountable for it. A revival of decentralizing democracy was called for and provided. It could not check the drift, but it was the only mooring in sight. How many of Mr. Cleveland's votes came from the democrats of this type, who were to be found in both parties, we cannot say as yet. Certainly these were an important factor in the victory.

It was thus a fright, a fear of despotic government that re-enforced the critics of the old Republican regime. Wherever one looked, there was the same spectre taking shape. A standard oil trust was only one of its many disguises. A telegraph trust, an impending railroad trust, a monopolized land system, all were parts of an economic concentration. Even the national government appeared to be slipping in the same direction. The dominating party had begun the significant use of the word "nation" in its platforms. The last of the legal tender cases authorized a theory of sovereign power strange to those who had been trained on older theories of the Constitution. It became the general cry that national power was growing beyond any check, that private economic power was heading off individual initiative. The most promising romancer of the decade, Edward Bellamy, could find a cure only through accepting even more of the centralized power which was so relentless.

Whether or not for good, the new order had arrived, and men set themselves first to explain it, next to live with it. With the latter problem, I have here no concern. With the former I am chiefly interested because the commonest explanation, the one glibly uttered and easily repeated, was in my view wrong. It was said, and few denied it that the Civil War had done it all, that the true theory of a balance of power between states and federation had been wrecked in the attempt to conquer the slave holding states; that in this struggle had come first the war powers, then vague resulting powers which led to authority without restraint. If the change was looked upon as good, then it was the result of patriotic devotion to a national conflict; if evil, it was the result of unbridled ambition and the lust for power long possessed. But either way few denied the fact of national trend and most ascribed it to the Civil War.

The most recent historian of the period of the Civil War, Professor Fite of Yale, has scarcely mentioned the existence of the military struggle that has filled so much of the canvas for most of the historians. He has seen instead the social and industrial development of the north during the sixties, a development pushing on regardless of the war or slavery, and building up a new north and a new northwest, which in 1871, so far as economics was concerned, hardly realized that the conflict had occurred. The time is not yet ripe perhaps for a history of the United States without the Civil War, or for a treatment which should make it an unimportant episode in the nation's development. But it does appear to be safe to say that the war has loomed up too large; that with better perspective and a longer range it will cease to fill the whole field of vision. Lincoln was the least likely picture of the "man on horseback" that we have seen. What the United States became, it became by growth and development, an active life and the run of a continent.

The "run of a continent" is merely a metaphor to describe what is already known to most of you, through the labors of the greatest of our western historians, Turner, as the Westward Movement. Mr. Rhodes, in his monumental "History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850," has been almost unaware of its existence. He has written from the standpoint of national politics, with Washington always in or near the center of his stage. When he shall come, however, to take up the continuation of his work after 1877, as he has promised to do, he will find in the history of the trans-Mississippi since 1860 the causes of much of the national revival after the Civil War. It is this history of the farther West and the final West that explains the phenomena of the eighties.

On the eve of the Civil War the United States extended from the Atlantic to the western border of Missouri. It had acquired title to lands extending through to the Pacific, but it had done little more than make a preliminary occupation of its western domain. The East had grown continuously. All of the trans-Mississippi states of the first tier, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas and Louisiana, had been admitted to the union. West of these the advance had been unable to go in the systematic fashion of its former progress—the "heel and toe" process, as Professor Johnson has called it. Texas had indeed come in, but Texas was in a different climate and on a different soil. California had thriven on her gold boom; Oregon had received the beginnings of her population, and both had been welcomed in as states. But California and Oregon were bound to the union by so tenuous a bond that men hesitated to touch it lest it break. The commonest of the prophecies of the fifties was the severance of the Pacific Slope and the erection there of one or more republics.

Between the Missouri border and these youthful commonwealths stretched the vast American desert, the abode of the homeless Indian, the prairie dog and the cactus. In the popular mind it was uninhabitable. Looked upon as a game preserve, it excited the admiration of the sportsman, but it had never produced either population or resources of consequence. The much heralded settlement of Kansas and Nebraska territories in the later fifties was largely restricted to their eastern ends, within hearing almost of the

Missouri river steamers that carried passengers and freight to their more important villages. The desert itself was well nigh untouched and severed the eastern and Pacific states as effectively as an ocean.

There is an interesting historic parallel between the situation of the American colonies in 1763 and that of the American states a century later. In the earlier case the colonies had grown in independent, rival life, knowing little of each other and caring less, occupying each its piece of seaboard land and having slight intercourse with its immediate neighbors. The advance of settlement from the coast to the falls line did not change this quasi-insularity of the colonies. From the falls line to the mountain passes, through which access could be had to the Mississippi Valley, was a different story. The passes were few and centralized. The routes west converged to a few places. Here on the mountain summits where geographical factors brought colonial expansion into close contacts, the common danger of Indians and French compelled coöperation and union. It was no accident that independence followed in less than twenty years.

This history of the birth of nationality repeated itself after an even century. For provincial localism substitute sectional economic localism. For a quarreling group of seaboard states, consider an irritated and irritable North and South, living in water-tight compartments side by side and extending from east to west. On the common western border appeared a new problem, that of the great desert. Earlier frontiers had been occupied piecemeal by single pioneers, but the slight agricultural values of this West forbade the repetition of the older process. The conquest of this frontier depended upon neither slavery nor freedom, but upon a new conception of the vital force of national life. Out of the coöperation which this necessity compelled, the old nation could not come without change—a change which we are here to watch.

The legislation of 1854 completed the political organization of the intervening desert in a fashion that emphasizes the slight value that was placed upon it. Between the Missouri border and the Pacific states lie today twelve states and two territories. In 1854 the vast area was the possession of six amorphous and unoccupied territories, and the Indian country. Oregon and Washington territories extended from the continental divide to the Pacific, and enclosed all of the Oregon country. South of these, Utah territory, the abode of a handful of the Latter Day Saints, stretched from California to the same divide, between the parallels of forty-two and thirty-seven. Yet further south was a territory of New Mexico, running from Texas to California. On the eastern slope of the divide, where was yet the range of the Indians, the avowed Indian country had been crushed beyond recognition by the territories of Nebraska and Kansas. In law, no political division could have been made in the Indian country without the consent of the Indians. In practice, it was the flimsiest of legal fictions that covered the assimilation of the Indian lands. The present state of Oklahoma occupies the boundaries to which the Indian country was reduced in 1854. All the rest of the slope, beyond the Missouri border, was split along the fortieth parallel into Kansas and Nebraska. Six vast territories, for which as yet no people clamored, filled the old desert.

On the eve of the Civil War the Far West was yet negligable in its effect upon national development. Clamor for trails and railways and postal service had begun, but had not gained the ear of Congress in any dominating sense. Yet the section was beginning on its own account a development that has escaped the notice of most students, with whom the Civil War has been an obsession. California and Oregon had been occupied without the occupation of the intervening lands. Utah had planted a colony on Great Salt Lake without more than local consequences. The great trails had been as narrowly hedged in as tunnels. Emigrants had passed from end to end with almost no deviation from the beaten path. The railway surveys had explored the region without inducing settlement. It was the miner who did what these had been unable to do.

Ever since the rush to California, prospectors had searched for gold in the various gulches of the Rocky Mountains. They had failed to find it for

a decade, which is surprising since hundreds of streams carry down from the mountains traces at least of the precious metal. But scattered groups kept up the search, and individuals began to report success by 1858. For five years now nearly every month brought forth a new gold or silver region until the mountain area was speckled with little camps and claims from Mexico to the Canadian line.

The detailed story of these discoveries and the states which were built upon them need not be told here. Interesting though it is, it might obscure the general notion which a brief survey can give as well. First came the Pike's Peak boom which gave birth to Colorado; Nevada next, as the result of the Comstock Lode and the mines of Carson and Virginia City. After these, following so fast that sequence ceases to be important, the placer fields of Bill Williams Fork in Arizona, the booms in eastern Washington on the Clearwater, the Salmon, the Boise, and the Owyhee, and the corresponding finds across the divide along Beaver Head and Madison Fork, and the other tributaries of the Missouri river.

The Pike's Peak boom occurred in the spring of 1859, when perhaps 100,000 prospectors crossed the plains from the Missouri border, drawn by the report of gold at Cherry Creek. Few of these were successful, and most of them returned to the states before the end of 1859; but enough remained to create in Denver a nucleus around which the mining camps clustered and in which a statehood movement flourished during 1859 and 1860. With the first emigrants came organized transportation. The Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Stage and Express Company started a line of coaches to the diggings, while its agent stirred up local sentiment in favor of government aid and subsidy. The immediate need of the miners was postal service, for which they petitioned Congress at once. And postal service meant an extension of governmental activity on a large scale and without remuneration. The great overland mail, which Congress had in 1858 given to California, had cost $600,000.00 a year to maintain, and had yielded under $28,000.00 in revenue. The scattered miners, however, cared nothing for incidental loss to the United States. They wanted cheap mails which they could not procure for themselves; the government must step in with liberal contracts even when these implied not only the carriage of the mails but the erection of complete plants for stage lines across the continent. When the Civil War made it not longer possible to run the San Francisco mail by El Paso and the southern route, the stage line was transferred to the valley of the Platte and improved the situation of the Colorado miners as the result. The Pike's Peak statehood movement progressed more rapidly in the field than at Washington. Yet by 1861, a few days before the inauguration of Lincoln, a territory of Colorado was created upon the summit of the Rockies, assembling fragments of the older territories of Nebraska and Kansas, Utah and New Mexico, and commencing the breaking down of that indeterminate arrangement which had been completed in 1854. In 1854 no thought of territories in the mountain region had existed for this was regarded as a waste area and a necessary evil. It now of itself compelled attention to its demands and needs.

With Nevada the process was similar. The discovery of gold and silver in the hills along the California boundary in western Utah had precipitated a rush of eager miners to the Carson Valley in 1859. Virginia City, Gold Hill and Silver City had quickly grown to an aggregate of several thousand inhabitants, while Carson City, near which had long been a Mormon trading post on the California trail, persisted in becoming and remaining the business center of the field. In a legal sense Utah had jurisdiction over the new camp, but Utah was as far away from these mines as Kansas and Nebraska had been from Pike's Peak. Congress was again invited to intervene, and did so. A territory of Nevada was cut away from Utah in 1861. Three years later Nevada was admitted to the Union. It was then as since a scandal among the states because of its trifling population. But its demand for recognition was as great as if the territory had been of consequence, while national need made every loyal vote in Congress a matter to be sought for. We have the word of Stewart, its first senator, that Lincoln

congratulated him upon his arrival in Washington. "I am glad to see you here," he said, "we need as many loyal states as we can get, and in addition to that, the gold and silver in the region you represent has made it possible for the government to maintain sufficient credit to continue this terrible war for the Union. I have observed such manifestations of the patriotism of your people as assure me that the government can rely upon your state for such support as is in its power."

It was not uncommon in the sixties to count the gold and silver of the boom territories as one of the great assets of the Union. Probably the gold and silver that were produced were worth less than the aggregate of labor lost in searching for them, but their sentimental consequences appealed to many. From another of the diggings General J. H. Carleton wrote to Halleck of the Gila Valley as "one of the richest gold countries in the world," and congratulated General Thomas because his California column had found the gold with which to pay the cost of the war.

Who Bill Williams was, I know not, but around the tributary of the lower Colorado which bears his euphonious name, the Arizona mines became another center. Long before either the Pike's Peak or Carson Valley camps had been exploited, New Mexico territory had been known as rich in silver. Old Mexican mines had existed in tradition and had been revived in fact by mining companies operating in the fifties around Tubac and Tucson. But this early development had no connection with the gold boom that added Arizona to the list of Rocky Mountain camps in the early sixties. The finds here, occurring in 1862 and 1863, played havoc with the troops sent against the confederates in New Mexico. Teamsters and enlisted men deserted by the hundred to try their luck. The region around Fort Whipple became active with a life that kept up a precarious existence in a real desert. Only the gold fever could have kept prospectors here where farmers had never dared to come. Yet enough held on to give volume to a new demand for the partition of New Mexico. Arizona territory dates from 1863, the third of the mining boom territories of the Civil War.

North of the great Platte trail other prospectors carried their life into the northern field of the mountains, to the region drained by the tributaries of the Columbia and Missouri, and straddling the continental divide. The main line of traffic from east to west was always the middle trail which the Oregonians and Mormons had traced, and which the forty-niners had followed. It left the Missouri border near Kansas City, crossed to Grand Island in the Platte, followed that stream and its north fork to the Sweetwater, thence by way of the South Pass it pierced the continental divide. The Snake was its chief highway into Oregon.

In the valley of the Snake, and northeast of it, the miners worked the same changes that had followed their advent in the southern field. Idaho and Montana territories came into existence at their demand. Their delegates in Congress joined forces with those from the other new territories to insist upon federal aid for the things which they needed most. By 1868 all the new territories had been created and the Rocky Mountain region had assumed the appearance on the map which it has today, while as a new political factor it had begun to press upon the government of the United States.

The Civil War had nothing to do with the occurrence of these mining booms. The precious metals had always existed in their mountain hiding places, waiting to be dragged out when exploration had advanced enough. They must have been reached and found in these same years whatever the conditions of the East and South. Upon their wealth must have been built the same group of territories and states. Until after 1854 the one-time desert was not regarded as possessing wealth, but enlightenment on this point had to come.

Whatever effect these western communities had upon the nation is a thing to be analyzed and weighed by itself as the logical outcome of American expansion. Their insistent demand for free land had always been on the lips of the western advocate. Their earnestness in urging transportation schemes continues the equal earnestness of the earlier Wests. Irrigation and

reclamation were the peculiar products of their special necessities. In the demand for public control of private institutions they stood in the front of a new movement. There was an inevitable bigness in the ideals of men who had travelled weeks instead of hours, who saw land in thousands instead of scores of acres. Their needs as they reacted upon the national life call for an examination in detail.

No one familiar with the middle West can be surprised to find the farther West urging free land. Senator Benton had begun to urge it when his new state of Missouri was yet the wild frontier of settlement. He died before Congress accepted his teaching, but in the second year of the Civil War the Homstead Act was passed giving to the West all that its most liberal advocate could have desired. The new territories had no part in the adoption of this policy though they accepted and grew under it. Like their older neighbors, their inhabitants had quietly squatted on the public lands, recognizing no title to single tracts save in the actual occupant. It may be said that the substance of the homstead policy had been in *de facto* existence long before it was codified in law. Indeed its law is an excellent representative of the peculiar Anglo-Saxon method of writing laws descriptive of facts already in practice. On the frontier such laws had the best chance for real enforcement. As has been pointed out in connection with other portions of the West, more than once, a group of states carved bodily from the public domain, with geometric boundaries and artificial names, with all land titles running from the United States as first owner, is not the place for the cultivation of a state rights doctrine. Because of its instinct dependence upon the central government its view of life is forced to include the United States as sovereign.

The public lands were good to live upon, but this was not the end of their utility. Illinois had discovered in 1850 a profitable use to which they could be put. The policy of internal improvements at the public cost had always been popular in the West where the improvements had an exaggerated value and the community had little private capital. In direct proportion as the West gained weight in the councils of the government, applications of this policy became frequent. Transportation devices—turnpikes, canals, railways—were asked for without restraint. Some of them were aided by the government directly or indirectly, but the land grants in 1850 to the Illinois Central Railroad began the most extravagant and last period of government aid to private enterprises.

The states of the Mississippi Valley received their land grants and commenced their railroads in the fifties; the mining camps, lying outside the limits of organized states, raised the question in a new form. They felt their isolation. There is something humorous in the situation of the emigrant who travels gratuitously a thousand miles from home, to serve his own purposes, and then in his new abode calmly demands that government take care of him. When in his emigration he has consistently violated the Indian laws and occupied forbidden land, his demand may become a cool impertinence. But the frontier miners saw none of the unconscious humor of their performance, and whether impertinent or not their demands were typical of the new America to which the mining booms gave life. The railway was a necessity if the camp was to continue to flourish. An eight hundred mile stage line could not be looked upon as a permanent solution of a transportation need in 1865. From every one of the hundreds of camps which appeared between 1853 and 1865 came in the vry to Congress: "Give us aid and build our railways." The national utility of the roads was frankly avowed, their economic value was distinctly secondary.

Congress had been under pressure to build or encourage a Pacific railway for fifteen years before the war broke out, but the pressure had come almost entirely from the East looking west until the mining territories began to agitate. With these established, the demands were multiplied. Each town wanted not only a railway, but to be on the main line. Few could receive exactly what they wanted since there were limits to the resources which

Congress could control in war time. It is noteworthy that this is the first time in the westward movement of the frontier that the government was relied upon for any considerable part of the material equipment.

It is well known how Congress in 1862 incorporated the Union Pacific railways, offering them bonds as well as lands in aid of speedy construction, but it is less clearly understood how far these and the later Pacific roads were the response to the insistence of the mining camps. Within a few years after the close of the war, lines were started along many parallel routes to the mountains and beyond. Jay Cooke's Northern Pacific headed from Lake Superior for the sources of the Missouri, the Atlantic and Pacific was projected from southwestern Missouri to California, the Texas Pacific was to connect the Red River country with lower California. Private lines, as the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy and the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé supplemented the efforts of the land grant roads. And had not the panic of 1873 intervened to check industrial expansion of every sort it is likely that the old frontier would have disappeared in the seventies instead of the eighties. As it was, the critical period of the eighties, which invites its historian as cordially as did the critical period of a century before which John Fiske exploited, was not half over before the completion of these continental lines opened numerous routes of easy transportation from the states to the coast, traversing the desert and mountains, and penetrating with spur lines to mining camps, so that henceforth no great area of the West could be far removed from access to the East.

So far from promoting this network of continental railways, the effect of the Civil War was only to retard its progress. Without the war the West would have been just as many miles from government and trade, and every mile would have embodied exactly the same argument for transportation. The vast differences between traffic points would have had the same influence upon railway organization as well. With eastern conditions, cities lying only a few score miles apart, small corporations could build their respective links in great connecting routes, leaving it to the future of finance to consolidate and incorporate the disjointed members into workable systems. In the West railways built thousands where in the East hundreds of miles would suffice. Often traffic points were in themselves so insignificant in size that the company had to be able to wait for its profits until population and trade appeared. More than once they built into the frontier planning to lift themselves by their bootstraps into prosperity. But all this implied corporations which appeared gigantic when compared with their smaller contemporaries, and failed to arouse immediate fears only because the fear of no railway at all was a stronger force than the dread of any means of getting one.

In the building of these railways the United States government had taken a more direct part than it had in the overcoming of any of the earlier frontiers. The national road had been indeed a great undertaking, but its function was not to open up a new region. It was rather to afford transportation through a region already fairly well developed. The land grants in the middle West had aided states in their local equipment. Here, however, the United States stood behind railway corporations which were not expected to pay great dividends, which were traversing nearly uninhabited plains and barren mountains, which were asked for largely for the purpose of binding together the nation, and which, so far as they were effective, increased the population of that section which was best disposed to rely upon the national government for general favors, and to read into the constitution all the powers needful for their performance.

The mining and plains territories which the expansion of the sixties called into statutory existence ripened into statehood in their third decade. If they had been left to the miners alone they might never have developed more than Arizona and Nevada have done. When they were created they possessed only the sparse and vagrant population of the mining camp. Agricultural development, which alone could secure permanency, followed the extension of the railways By 1890 there were admitted into the Union the two Dakotas, Montana, Idaho, Washington, Nevada, Colorado, Nebraska and

Wyoming. All were the special and peculiar wards of the United States, dependent upon its policies and returning an allegiance that magnified its powers. As the railway demand had represented one phase of the needs of their section, so the irrigation demand represents another.

The reason why the regular expansion of the United States had stopped about 1830 near the Missouri border, to remain there for half a century, has a close connection with the climate of the West. Half way across Kansas and Nebraska rainfall becomes so slight and irregular as to be an unsafe reliance for the farmer. From about the ninety-seventh meridian to the Sierra Nevadas the semi-arid West was known as the American desert, and believed to have most of the attributes of such a waste. In this dry region the farmer could not thrive. The miner and rancher could make a precarious living if there were transportation enough, but agriculture as conducted in the East was profitless. The soil was often rich, the temperature was moderate, but without water neither had value.

Only by artificial means could agriculture be made to thrive over a large portion of the farther West. Early comers had learned this. In old California irrigation had been employed. The irrigation ditch was at the foundation of the economic success of the Mormons. In one of his many philanthropic enterprises Horace Greeley had helped to establish irrigation in Colorado. The results of these experiments proved beyond doubt that with irrigation a luxurious agriculture could be maintained in much of the former desert, and that the works necessary to establish irrigation were extremely costly.

The national treasury was the certain objective of the West once it was made clear that money could reclaim its lands. The federal power could first survey the national domain and reserve large irrigation sites; it could next use its vast wealth to construct dams and ditches commensurate to the dignity of the United States and the magnitude of mountain topography. No question crossed the western mind as to the existence of legal power for these things. Its habit of reliance upon government was firmly founded. Before it was through it helped to elect a president who understood its aspirations and knew its needs. If the constitution failed to give the power necessary for the ends desired, then so much the worse for the constitution; but the end must be attained nevertheless. The eighties saw only the beginnings of this phase of the expansion of national power. Agitation for a reclamation service was common, preliminary surveys were authorized and undertaken, but the culmination of the movement was deferred another twenty years.

When the curiosity of the Arabian fisherman evoked the spirit of the jinn from its casket his situation was not unlike that of the new West with the organizations that its rapid growth had produced. It had called forces into existence regardless of the future. Its fright was real when it began to apprehend the reaction of the new forces upon itself. The fisherman had been able to coax the jinn back into the box and had locked it up in triumph —temporarily at least. The West was helpless of itself, and looked once more to its familiar ally, the central government, for redress.

The railways are again the best illustration of the dilemma of the West. It is true as a general proposition that no large antagonism to railways can exist in a region unprovided with them. The Granger Northwest had not learned that it distrusted the roads until it was well supplied with them. New England had not erected railroad commissions until Boston had been joined to Albany as well as to other outside points. But once the railway is in it is in for all time. It cannot be removed and the country which it serves is independent and critical regarding it. There could have been no movement for a national control of railways until the great continental systems, done in the eighties, neared completion. The demand crystallized in the West just as completion came about.

The systems that began their service in the eighties were truly interstate in magnitude. The Northern Pacific extended under one control through Minnesota, Dakota, Montana, Idaho and Washington. The Southern Pacific of Kentucky, an early "holding company," directed the Central and Southern

Pacific systems in Utah, Nevada, California, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas. No one state could make any impression on a corporation of the magnitude of these. At best, one state could affect but a segment of the system, subject to a power in the railway to punish interference by jockeying with rates and service. The new states were dependent upon their roads and dare not drive agencies which they could not entirely control. In their desperation they turned to Congress with their grievance.

Once again it may be repeated that without the Civil War the far West would have matured in the same two decades, that their need for transportation was predetermined, that they were certain to feel the burden of railway monopoly as soon as they had fairly ample equipment, that they could not relieve this burden themselves, and that their prospect of relief was tied up in the expansion of the activities of the national government.

The passage of an interstate commerce act in 1887 is one illustration of the response of Congress to the new economic call upon it—a call that came clearest from the West where the problem was plainest. The Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890 is another response to an analogous demand. The erection of a bureau of labor in 1884 reflects yet a third phase of the same response. The West was used to looking upon the national power as its true protector, and saw no difficulty in law or expediency which might prevent the gratification of its wish.

Throughout the eighties public opinion in the United States became conscious of this growing trend to nationalization. In private industry, as well as public practice, it was written clearly for the casual passer-by to read. The fact of the transition was beyond dispute; the reaction to it differed with temperament and interest. The "trust problem" was described by those who feared the suppression of the individual and the principle of competition by irresponsible organizations of national extent. The trust promoter pointed out the economic savings of consolidation in the vain attempt to satisfy the frightened critic. Their only common ground was the admission that the national trend existed. In politics the expansion of the federal power alarmed the conservative who dreaded too much nationalization in government as well as in industry, and who failed to realize that the only way to make it innocuous in the latter was to encourage it in the former. The fear of a national bureaucracy had much to do with the return of the Democrats in 1885, pledged to economical administration along conservative lines. All admitted the universal trend. Few failed to lay it to the Civil War.

Says Professor Hart, speaking in accord with the common view, "The ideal that emerged [from the Civil War] was that of a federal government; in which the national powers and the national status were so fixed and so obvious that it was not worth while to fight about them again, and a waste of breath to discuss them." The national ideal did indeed emerge in those years following the Civil War, but that war furnished smoke only to obscure the real origin of the ideal. Without the war the ideal would have ripened as it did and when it did. The desert waste could never have been subdued but by the use of national powers; and when it had been subdued, the agency which directed the work had become of necessity a nation. We have tried in vain, since the disappearance of the frontier, to conceal with our complicated constitutional system the essential economic fact that the United States has become a nation. Already party organization has been grievously disturbed by this fact although we have barely begun our period of national reconstruction. In the new nation progress was to be measured largely by the disappearance of the East and South, and the acceptance by all of the standards of the West. Let some of you who doubt this and are curious, study the radical western populistic platforms of the early nineties and compare them with the great national platforms of today, in which the visionary radicalism of twenty years ago has acquired all the earmarks of modern orthodoxy and respectability. The West was to become the nation

and gather about its ideals its fellow countrymen. There was the problem, and there were suggested the solutions. Too long the historians have respected the couplet of Kipling:

"For East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet
Till earth and sky together stand at God's great judgment seat."

They have neglected the final verses of the quatrain:

"But there is neither East nor West, border, nor breed, nor birth
When two strong men stand face to face, though they come from the ends of the earth."

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THE LIFE AND SERVICES OF ALFRED ORENDORFF.

(By Hon. James A. Creighton.)

The life and character of General Alfred Orendorff demands of the Illinois State Historical Society more than a passing notice, more than a mere necrological entry in the annals of the Society. His was an unusually full and complete life, not in years, for in that respect he was limited to less than the allotted span, but in all that tends to make a life worth living to the one who lives it and to the community and state in which it is lived. He came in contact with the life of his day and generation at every vital point, and impressed upon it an influence for good. He preached Fatherhood of God, Brotherhood of Man, Love of Home and Family and Country, and his practices comported with his preaching. The loss occasioned by his death is not limited to his family and to this Society whose president he was at the time of his death. All who knew him or who knew of him feel the loss, and few there are in this city, or in this whole State, that did not know of General Orendorff.

Christian Orendorff, General Orendorff's first American ancestor, was a military officer in Germany, and was married to Elizabeth Miller, a lady of distinction. He came to America from Wurtemburg, Germany, in the year 1751, bringing his wife and their family of small children. They first established their home in Lancaster county, Pa., but a few years later moved from there to a plantation near Sharpsburg, Md. Their second son, Christopher, was married at Hagerstown, Md., in the year 1791, to Elizabeth Phillips. Soon after their marriage they left Maryland, and after a short time spent in Georgia and South Carolina they settled in North Carolina, where, on Nov. 25, 1804, their son Joseph Orendorff, father of General Orendorff, was born. About this time there set in quite a movement of population from the older southern states into Tennessee and Kentucky and on into the Northwest territory. This was especially true as to North Carolina with respect to Tennessee. With this westward movement came Christian Orendorff and his family, first to Tennessee, then to Kentucky, and finally to Washington county, Ill., in the year 1818. Later they moved up to the "Sangamo Country" and settled on Sugar creek, north of Springfield, then in Sangamon county but now in Logan. There they made their permanent settlement, improved a farm, built and operated the first water power grist mill in that part of the State. On June 23, 1833, Joseph Orendorff was married to Elizabeth Stevens, a native of Henderson county, Ky. Of their four sons, Alfred, the youngest, was born July 29, 1845.

From the foregoing we see that General Orendorff's American ancestry dates back quite into Colonial times, and that his immediate family has been directly associated with the growth and development of the State of Illinois from its admission into the Union. They saw the State grow from a few frontier settlements to the imperial position it now sustains in the galaxy of states and they contributed to its achievements at every step of its progress.

The death of General Orendorff's father occurred Sept. 18, 1854, depriving him of the care and advice of a father when he was little more than nine years of age. Not long after the death of his father, Alfred's mother removed to the city of Lincoln, the county seat of Logan county, where he obtained a common school education in the schools of that city, after which he prosecuted his studies in the Illinois Wesleyan University at Bloom-

ington and in the Military School at Fulton. In 1864, when he was but nineteen years of age, he raised a company, Co. I, 133, Reg. Ills. Vols., Inf., for enlistment in the Civil War, was elected and commissioned as its captain and served in that capacity to the end of the war.

After the close of the war, having chosen the law as a profession, he pursued the requisite course of study in the Albany Law School at Albany, N. Y., and was graduated from that institution with the degree of Bachelor of Laws. In the autumn of 1867, after receiving his diploma from the law school, he was admitted to practice in this State, taking up his residence in Springfield and becoming a member of the law firm of Herndon & Zane, the style of the new firm being Herndon, Zane & Orendorff. This partnership continued until June, 1873, when Mr. Zane was elected to the Circuit Court bench, and thereafter for a time Orendorff remained with Mr. Herndon, the firm name being Herndon & Orendorff. In April, 1877, Mr. Herndon having retired from active practice, General Orendorff accepted James A. Creighton as a partner, the firm name being Orendorff & Creighton. This partnership continued until Mr. Creighton was elected as one of the judges of the Circuit Court of the Fifth Circuit in June, 1884. This was followed by a partnership with Robert H. Patton, which continued for a number of years.

While General Orendorff loved his profession and was continuously connected with the practice from the time of his admission to the bar until disabled by his last illness he was not a slave to it. He found time to devote to social, civic and other public duties. He was a wise and talented lawyer and highly respected by both bench and bar of the entire State. When the Illinois State Bar Association was organized in January, 1877, General Orendorff was made the first secretary and some years later served as its president. He was a delegate to the National Association on a number of occasions, and in 1906 he was selected as a delegate to the International Law Association, which met that year in Berlin, Germany. He was in every respect a useful and highly esteemed member of the bar.

From his earliest manhood he gave both thought and time to public questions and to politics. He was reared and educated in the faith of the fathers and founders of the Republican party. Upon attaining his majority he cast his lot and influence with that party, and in 1870 was its candidate in his district for State Senator. Hon. Alexander Starne of this city was his opponent and, the district having a large Democratic majority, the election of such an opponent was inevitable and in no sense a disappointment. As the national compaign of 1872 approached, the country being still in the throes of Reconstruction, many of the truest and best of the fathers and leaders of the Republican party who had nominated, elected and stood by Lincoln through all the trying and perilous period of his administration, such as Greeley, Palmer, Trumbull and thousands of others, "liberalized," and refused to support the more radical leaders of their party in many of their policies. At this juncture General Orendorff joined with the "Liberals," was a delegate to their National Convention of 1872, and supported Lyman Trumbull for President. He did not thoughtlessly take this course. He was moved to it by his judgment, his conscience and the highest and most unselfish sense of patriotic duty as he saw and understood it.

During the following campaign he was nominated by the Liberals and Democrats as their candidate for member of the General Assembly and his election followed. In the sessions of 1873 and 1874, he served on the Judiciary Committee. These were most important sessions of the law making body of this State. The adoption of the Constitution of 1870 made an entire revision of the previously existing statutes necessary and required the enactment of many new laws. For this work General Orendorff was well equipped and he gave to it the full measure of his ability. The revision was completed at the session of 1874. Many of the very best men of the State were members of the General Assembly at that time, and these men appreciated Orendorff and became his friends. From this time on he was a prominent factor in the councils and organization of his party, was

a member of the State Central Committee and its chairman for a number of terms, was a delegate to all its conventions, local, State and national. As a public speaker in defense of its principles he had no superior and few equals. He was not an office seeker, nor in any sense a self server. He was a truly unselfish man. His prominence and inherent quality of leadership demanded that he accept the nomination of his party as its candidate on two occasions. Both of these were for the office of State Treasurer, that being the head of the State ticket at "off year" elections. He did not seek these nominations. They were unanimously tendered to him and he accepted. "Wherever duty called he went." While neither he nor his party expected his election, the result proved the wisdom of his nomination. With a party majority of more than 40,000 in favor of his opponent, General Orendorff reduced that majority to a point so close as to put the result in doubt for days.

General Orendorff was Adjutant General of the State from 1892 to 1895. The duties imposed upon the incumbent of this office are both military and civil, and he possessed the qualities requisite. He had military tact and training and was equipped with knowledge and experience respecting civil affairs. The duties of that important position have never been more faithfully nor more acceptably performed than by General Orendorff.

When the election commission law was adopted General Orendorff was appointed a member of the Springfield Board of Election Commissioners and served as president of the board to the date of his death.

He held membership in many orders, social clubs and fraternal societies: the Masons, Odd-Fellows, Elks, Sangamo Club, Iroquois Club of Chicago, Workmen, Woodmen and others. While he loved them all and heartily entered into the spirit, purposes and work of each, he was most devoted to the order of Odd-Fellows. He joined this order in his very early manhood and gave to it more of his thought, time and means than to any other. Having advanced to the requisite stage in his local lodge, in 1874 he was chosen as its representative to the State Grand Lodge; in 1878 he was elected Grand Master of the State, and after that he served as representative to the Sovereign Grand Lodge of the World. He was also an active member of many of the committees and boards charged with the duties of establishing and management of the numerous charitable institutions of this great order. He worshiped with the congregation of the First Presbyterian Church of Springfield, and for a number of years before he died was president of its board of trustees.

He was at the time of his death the president, of the Illinois State Historical Society, and a charter member of the Lincoln Centennial Association. With respect to his connection with the State Historical Society, the following is quoted from the October, 1909, number of its *Journal:* "The Illinois State Historical Society has sustained a great loss by the death of its president, General Alfred Orendorff, which occurred Oct. 22, 1909. General Orendorff had been sick for more than a year, and those who attended the annual meeting of the Society held last May will remember the heroic struggle which he made against extreme weakness when he presided over the sessions of its meeting. This was practically his last public appearance."

"One of the acts of his administration of the affairs of the Historical Society in which he took the greatest pleasure was the celebration in 1908 of the Semi-Centennial of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858. These celebrations took place at the seven towns at which the original debates occurred, and they had been suggested and fostered by the Historical Society.

"General Orendorff attended each of these celebrations and made an address at each place, and these addresses show his power as a writer and thinker. General Orendorff's very large acquaintance gave the Historical Society great gain in its membership. When, in 1905, he became president of the Society, it had but 251 members. During his presidency the membership increased to nearly 1,000 members.

"He came into the management of the affairs of the Historical Society at a time when the labors of Judge Beckwith, Dr. Snyder, George N. Black, Judge David McCulloch, Captain Burnham and others of that class of

earnest historical workers had founded the Society on broad and solid lines, and it remained for General Orendorff to make it popular, to bring it to the attention of the people of the State, and this he succeeded in doing. He also, by his influence and large acquaintance, aided in securing recognition for the Society from the Legislature of the State. He loved the Illinois State Historical Society, and no detail of its affairs was too small to secure his interest, and he labored for it unceasingly."

General Orendorff was no inconsiderable factor in the business affairs and enterprises of the community in which he lived. He was for many years vice president of the German-American Loan Association; a director of the Abstract Guaranty Company; one of the organizers of the Springfield Improvement Association; president of the Franklin Life Insurance Company, and at the time of his death he was president of the International Bank and Trust Company of Vinita, Okla. He had good business judgment and gave to each of these enterprises that same efficient, faithful and honest service that characterized his conduct in every relation he sustained to his community, to the country at large and to his fellowman.

All who knew General Orendorff will heartily endorse what another so truthfully and elegantly said of him: "Some men fill one niche in life and fill it well. Others fill several niches and do it well. Such men are accounted great; but Alfred Orendorff was an all round man. He was a highly available man. Such men count double. Such men count for twenty in the race of life. They are so rare that they achieve easy distinction."

"I have seen this man tried on many fields. In the ordinary duties of citizenship; in work of benevolence and charity; in the halls of legislation; in the public forum where thousands hung upon his lips; in sanctuaries of justice, contending with eminent counsel; in business conferences; in scores of social functions; aye, in the sacred precincts of the afflicted and sorrowing; and on each demand, his diplomacy, his tender heart, his gentle action, his choice of words, graced every occasion and charmed every circle."

"If true greatness consists in a disinterested love of goodness and truth and in the energy with which these are caused to prevail, then judged by such a standard, Alfred Orendorff was a great man." (From the address of Past Grand Master Humphrey in the Odd Fellows Grand Lodge, Nov. 18, 1909.)

On June 22, 1870, General Orendorff was married to Miss Julia J. Williams, a daughter of Col. John Williams, one of Springfield's most distinguished citizens, who was for fifty years a leading merchant, and for many years president of the First National Bank of that city. Mrs. Orendorff's death occurred May 27, 1908. Their three children, John A., Alice E. and Lydia Edna, all survive. The son resides in Joplin, Mo., and the daughters occupy the family homestead on South Second street in Springfield.

General Orendorff's mother and three brothers all preceded him to the beyond. His mother died May 16, 1866; his brother, Christopher, June 28, 1862; Robert, Dec. 21, 1879, and James in 1902.

General Orendorff's life covered a period of great events and great progress, and that period brought forth an array of great men, with whom he colleagued. He personally knew Lincoln, Douglas, Grant, Logan, Trumbull, Palmer and the hosts of other great and distinguished men of that day who counseled, fought, wrought, and left their impress upon the destiny of the nation. And he had the widest personal acquaintance among the people, the body of the people, those who hew and draw and build, who make and maintain the homes, rear the families and do the foundation work upon which all progress is based. He saw the good in every man and loved him for that good, and where faults appeared he looked with charity and was slow to blame. It can be most truly said of him, the world is the better for his having lived in it. While our loss is great, yet, as he himself said with respect to a dear departed friend of his, "May we not all be sustained by at least a comforting hope that the good night here will be followed in some fairer, better clime by a welcome good morning; and may we not be upheld by an unfaltering trust that 'since God is just, that somehow, somewhere, meet we must.'"

SOME ILLINOIS EDITORS I HAVE KNOWN.

(By Gen. Smith D. Atkins.)

In November, 1847, Stephen D. Carpenter, of Girard, Pennsylvania, came to Freeport, Illinois, and established the first paper there, the Prairie Democrat. Mr. Carpenter was, in many respects, a remarkable man. He introduced, at that early time, illustrations, now so common in the newspapers of all countries. But snap-shot photographs, and the quick production of illustrations, were then unknown. Mr. Carpenter, taking a wood type of proper size, would draw a picture of anything he wished to illustrate on the back of the wood type, and then, with jackknife and gouge chisels, he would cut away the surrounding wood, leaving the illustration as he had drawn it, and that picture, so produced, was published in the Prairie Democrat. I remember one particularly. Senator Stephen A. Douglas, and Long John Wentworth, of Chicago, had come to Freeport to deliver Democratic political speeches, and Mr. Carpenter published in his paper, such an illustration, so drawn, of Long John Wentworth in his bed at the hotel his long legs reaching far beyond the foot of his bedstead, and sprawling out upon the floor. It was a taking illustration and produced as much excitement in the community as McCutcheon's famous illustration of Missouri's stepping over into the Republican ranks. So far as I know, Mr. Carpenter was the first editor in Illinois to publish "cartoons" in his paper. He invented a rotary pump, which gave him the name of "Pump Carpenter." He went to Madison, Wis., in 1850, and established a paper there, and made quite a hit exposing the grafters in the Wisconsin Legislature, which he called "The Forty Thieves." He died recently, a resident of Milwaukee.

I was an apprentice to the printing business in the office of the Prairie Democrat at Freeport, and received as wages the first year thirty dollars, and I spent sixteen dollars of it for a suit of woolen clothes that I could now buy for six dollars. But I do not wish to argue the tariff question, especially the woolen schedule, that President Taft thinks is not now low enough.

In the spring of 1852 I secured work in the office of the Mt. Morris Gazette, two hours in the forenoon and two in the afternoon, for my board, and attended the Rock River Seminary, where I became acquainted with Prof. Daniel J. Pinckney, the president of the Seminary, and the editor of the village paper. Professor Pinckney was a very able man, a political writer who garnished his editorials with many references to ancient history, which was his strong point. In common with everyone who knew him I had the highest possible opinion of Editor Pinckney, long since dead, but his memory is cherished by all who were students at "Old Sandstone."

In the fall of 1853, S. S. Jones, the owner and editor of the Kane County Democrat at St. Charles, came to Freeport, and sent word for me to call on him at his hotel, and when I did so, he said he was too busy with other matters to give his attention to his newspaper. Mr. Jones was secretary of the Chicago, St. Charles and Mississippi Air Line Railway, and telling me that the income from his printing office was too small to enable him to pay large wages, he offered me $12.00 per week, and a room and board at the Tremont House, in St. Charles, which he owned. As I was getting only six dollars a week, and paying my own board, I readily accepted his offer, and went to St. Charles and took charge of the Kane County Democrat owned by Mr. Jones. He spent that winter, 1853-4 in Washington City, trying to induce Congress to pass a land grant law, as it had done for the Illinois Central railway, for a road to be built across Iowa. When Mr. Douglas, Senator from

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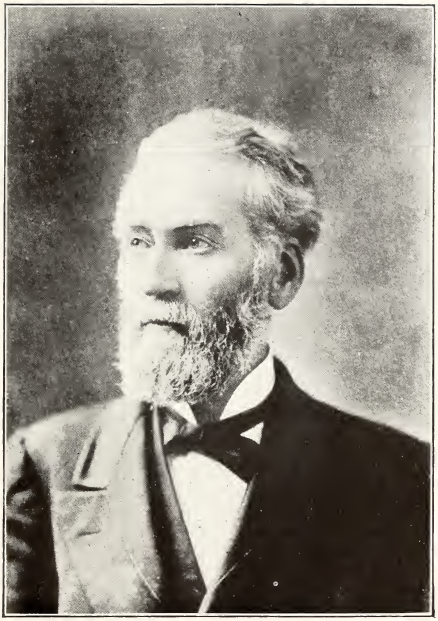
this State, introduced the Kansas-Nebraska bill with a clause repealing the Missouri Compromise of 1820, I wrote and published an editorial in the Kane County Democrat strongly antagonizing that measure, with no thought that Mr. Jones would not want such an editorial printed in his newspaper. But as soon as the paper reached Mr. Jones in Washington he wrote me that it would never do for me to print that kind of editorials in the Kane County Democrat; that he depended upon Senator Douglas of Illinois, and Senator Henn of Iowa, to get his railroad land grant through Congress; that he approved of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and as he was the owner and editor of the newspaper, and that I was only hired to do the work for him in his absence, I must write editorials approving of the course of Senator Douglas in introducing that bill. I could see clearly that Mr. Jones had the right to decide what kind of editorials must be published in his paper. But I could not see how I could write any editorials in which I did not believe. I refused to do it, and, as a matter of course, I was discharged, and returned to Freeport, and secured employment at six dollars a week, and paid my own board. Perhaps I made a mistake—but looking back now, after more than half a century, I do not think I did, because I firmly believe that no editorial writer should ever write anything which his conscience does not approve. Mr. Jones succeeded in getting his land grant for a railroad across the State of Iowa. Years afterward, in July, 1865, when the Civil War ended and I was mustered out of the military service, Mr. Jones called upon me at the Briggs House, in Chicago. He was then publishing the Religio-Philosophical Journal, and when I asked him how it was possible for him to print such a paper, with a twinkle in his eyes I will never forget, he replied "I am making money." Perhaps he was. He was afterward killed in his editorial office, leaving a large estate.

In the spring of 1855 I was reading law in Chicago, in the office of Judge Grant Goodrich and George Scoville, when what is now the Chicago Tribune had a strike on hand with its union printers; I went to see Mr. Joseph Medill, the principal owner and editor, telling him I knew how to set type, and that I would do so if he would promise that my situation as a compositor in his office should be permanent; Mr. Medill made me that promise, and I went to work. In a few days the strike was settled, and the striking union printers were again taken back; but Mr. Medill was as good as his word, and I remained a compositor among the union printers. But, of course, the union printers made it uncomfortable for me in many ways, and, after many weeks, I voluntarily quit work. That was my first introduction to Mr. Medill, and the fact that he kept his promise to me, gave me a good opinion of the great editor. Long years afterward I became better acquainted with him. He was a many sided man, full of crotchets and quirks, like his advocacy of "phonetics," and his support of "minority representation" that would never have been adopted in Illinois but for his advocacy, that is now giving the politicians of this State so much worry. Mr. Medill strongly argued that in a legislative district where the Democrats were in the majority the Republicans were "disfranchised," and in a district where the Republicans were in the majority the Democrats were "disfranchised." I argued that when a man was sent to the Legislature he represented all the people of his district, and all the people in Illinois, of all parties, for he voted upon all questions, whether his district was particularly interested or not. It was so with a member of Congress—he represented all the people of his district, no matter what party he belonged to, and all the people of the United States, so long as he was a member of the United States Congress, voting on all questions, affecting all the people. But Editor Medill carried his "hobby," and had it put into the Constitution of Illinois, so that it can never be gotten rid of except by changing the Constitution. Some years ago I was calling upon the great editor in company with Congressman Burchard—it was long before the invention of typesetting machines—when Senator Lyman Trumbull called bringing with him a copy of a speech he had delivered somewhere, about sixteen columns of small type; Mr. Medill rang his bell, and giving the speech to the man who answered the bell, told him to have it put into type right away; Senator Trumbull, Congressman Burchard and Mr. Medill conversed a little while on general subjects, when Senator Trumbull rose to go,

but said to Mr. Medill that he must be sure to send him the proofs to read at his residence, when Mr. Medill replied, I guess it is all ready now, and again ringing his bell the man brought him the proofs of the speech, which had been put into type in the few minutes we had been talking. I was told that there were seventy compositors in the Tribune office, and the speech was cut into "takes" of a stickful each, and as soon as one man could set a stickful the entire speech was in type. That was quick work for those days, but the typesetting machines are doing quicker work now. Some years ago Mr. Medill published in the Tribune an article supporting his side of the controversy, Mr. Medill having advised Mr. Lincoln at Freeport on August 27, 1858, not to ask Mr. Douglas the questions Mr. Lincoln that day put to Mr. Douglas. The popular opinion was, and is, that the asking of those questions by Mr. Lincoln of Mr. Douglas in Freeport, and the answer made by Mr. Douglas, split the next Democratic National Convention at Charleston, South Carolina, making Mr. Douglas' nomination by a united Democratic party impossible, and making Mr. Lincoln so well known to the country that he was himself nominated for President, and secured his election through that split in the Democratic party; but Mr. Medill contended that if Mr. Lincoln had not asked those questions of Mr. Douglas, at Freeport, Mr. Lincoln would have been elected Senator from Illinois, and would have been nominated for President by the Republicans in 1860, and would have been elected; and as proof of his position he declared that the popular vote of 1860, showed that if the Democrats had been united, Mr. Lincoln would still have been elected. I wished to antagonize Mr. Medill on that proposition, as I believed that I had successfully antagonized him on his so called minority representation in Illinois. So, with some difficulty, I found in the Freeport Public Library the popular vote of 1860, and giving Mr. Douglas all the votes cast for Mr. Breckenridge and those cast for Mr. Douglas, Mr. Lincoln would still have had a large majority in the Electoral College, and would have been elected. A careful study of the popular vote of 1860, giving Mr. Douglas all the votes cast for him, and adding all the votes cast for Breckenridge, showed that the result in the Electoral College would be changed in only one state, Oregon, not sufficient to change the result in the Electoral College. My editorial was not written, because Mr. Medill appeared to be sustained in his contention. The last time I met the great editor was in the Harrison campaign of 1892. Mr. Medill telegraphed me to come and see him in Chicago, and I went, and Mr. Medill insisted that every Republican editor in Illinois should strongly advocate a protective tariff, and he talked long, and eloquently, and ably, and when he put up his ear trumpet to hear what I had to say, (Mr. Medill was very deaf) I began by saying, "why don't you support a protective tariff all the time?" Down went his ear trumpet, and there was no use of my talking any more, for he could not hear a word I might say. The great editor glared at me long, and silently, and this interview ended. He was a great editor. He established and built up the greatest newspaper in the world, always reliable in its news, never reliable in its politics, and although the great editor has long been dead the newspaper he established still maintains the character he gave it in every respect.

I knew Benjamin F. Shaw, for more than half a century continuously the editor of the Dixon Telegraph. He was a broad-minded man, sincerely honest in every line he wrote, always a "machine" politician in the best sense. He knew that under our form of government, under majority rule, this country always has been, and always will be, governed by parties; that there is, absolutely, no other way that a majority of the voters can control the country; those who think alike in a general way upon government policies must act together, and vote alike, in order to form a majority that is capable of control. Editor Shaw well understood these fundamental principles of our government, and always acted upon them intelligently and honestly. He did not forget them when he believed that the majority of the voters ought to oppose the repeal of the Missouri Compromise of 1820, and should organize a new party, that should act and vote together in opposition to the further extension of slavery in this country. But there was no "machine" in this State by which a State Convention could be called, and candidates nominated, to voice the sentiment of those voters in Illinois who believed as Editor Shaw



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believed, and therefore he was one of the Anti-Nebraska editors of this State who met in Decatur on February 22, 1856, fifty-four years ago, and without one particle of authority other than necessity and good common sense proceeded to appoint a Republican State Central Committee, the Republican "machine" that is maintained to this day in Illinois. It is a story often told, and it reflects the greatest honor upon the Republican editors of this State. Let me name that first State Central Committee so appointed: W. B. Ogden, Chicago; S. M. Church, Rockford; G. D. A. Parks, Joliet; T. J. Pickett, Peoria; E. A. Dudley, Quincy; Wm. H. Herndon, Springfield; R. J. Oglesby, Decatur; Joseph Gillespie, Edwardsville; D. L. Phillips, Jonesboro, and Gustavus Koerner and Ira O. Wilkinson from the State at Large. Compare that Republican "machine" with any other Republican State Central Committee in Illinois during the fifty-four years since that time! That Republican "machine" so constituted called the first Republican convention in Illinois that met at Bloomington on May 29, 1856, and nominated Wm. H. Bissell, the first Republican Governor of Illinois, and a full State Republican ticket that was elected, although the electoral vote of Illinois was Democratic, and was given to Buchanan in 1856. Benjamin F. Shaw continued a "machine" Republican all his life long. He recently died in Dixon, with his editorial harness on, full of years and full of honors.

I became acquainted with Paul Selby, a few years ago, the able editor fifty-four years ago of the Jacksonville Journal, who first suggested the meeting of editors at Decatur, and who was present at that meeting. He was long one of the Vice-Presidents of the Illinois State Historical Society, a very able man, still living in retirement in Chicago.

In the spring of 1860, I became acquainted with John Wentworth, known as "Long John." He was about six feet and six inches tall, and built in proportion, a powerful man, the founder and editor of the Chicago Democrat, and one of the ablest editors of that party, a partisan of Andrew Jackson, and he named the building in which he published the Chicago Democrat "Jackson Hall." When the Kansas-Nebraska bill was introduced in Congress repealing the Missouri Compromise he broke political friendship with Senator Douglas, and became one of the most able advocates and supporters of the anti-slavery sentiment. He was running as the Republican candidate for Mayor of Chicago at the spring election of 1860, believing that the National Republican convention to be held in Chicago in May of that year would nominate the successful candidate for President, as it did do when it nominated Abraham Lincoln, and Mr. Wentworth believed that Chicago should have a Republican mayor. I was one evening in front of "Jackson Hall" when a four horse wagon with a band, and long streamers reaching along each side from the front team to the rear of the wagon with "Vote for Long John" in large letters were printed; the procession was about to move, with little enthusiasm, when Mr. Wentworth mounted a dry goods box and called out "Three cheers for Long John" and they were given with a will, and much merriment. John Wentworth was not given to modesty in politics. He was elected. At the old Tremont House, after the polls had closed and before the votes were counted, I heard Mr. Wentworth say, "I am elected, and I am going to my farm, and will not be back for a week, and when I come back every appointment I am to make as Mayor will be made."

In the summer of 1860, I became acquainted with Horace H. Houghton, of Galena, who went there in 1834, and became the editor of the Whig organ, the North Western Gazette, now the Galena Gazette, the oldest paper, so far as I know, continuously printed in Illinois. Mr. Houghton was an able man, and becoming a Republican, was one of the ablest advocates of the new party in opposition to the extension of slavery. Afterwards, in 1863, J. B. Brown became the editor of that paper and continued until his death in February, 1896, since and now edited by the son-in-law of Mr. Brown, Mr. A. W. Glessner, who maintains the reputation of the Galena Gazette.

These are some of the Illinois editors I have known; but I have known many others, "too numerous to mention." The editorial profession is an honorable one. An ignorant man may become a millionaire peddling horse medicine; but no country editor can become a millionaire. He must be content with the honors of his profession, without becoming wealthy.

NEGRO SLAVERY IN ILLINOIS.

(By Hon. John P. Hand.)

The European settlements on the Mississippi in the year 1765 comprehended Louisiana, part of West Florida and the country of the Illinois. Capt. Philip Pitman of the British Army in his book entitled, "The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi," describes the Illinois country as being bounded by the Mississippi on the west, the Illinois on the north, the Wabash on the east, and the Ohio on the south, and its towns as consisting of Kaskaskia, Prairie du Rocher, Fort Chartres, St. Philip and Cahokia, and states that the number of white inhabitants therein, exclusive of the troops, at the time was 2,000. The country of the Illinois was ceded by France to England in 1763 at the treaty of Paris. The English, however, did not assume possession thereof until the year 1765. Prior to 1720 there were found in the Mississippi valley, north of the Ohio, a few Indian slaves who were held as prisoners of war. Their number, however, was so inconsiderable as to be of no political consequence. In the year 1720, one hundred years after the first ship load of slaves was unloaded at Jamestown, there was landed at St. Philip by Philip Francis Renault a cargo of 500 negro slaves from San Domingo, which he afterward sold to the inhabitants of the Illinois country. Thus was slavery planted in the territory lying east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio rivers, and it was not eradicated therefrom for more than a century, and its blighting curse rested upon that territory until after the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation by Abraham Lincoln.

At the time of the session of the Illinois country to England, it is estimated there were in that country 900 negro slaves. Many of the French, with their slaves, shortly thereafter moved west of the Mississippi river, and in 1770 there remained in the Illinois country not to exceed 600 negro slaves. During the Revolutionary War the territory now situated within the limits of the State of Illinois was wrested by Virginia from the English, and after peace with Great Britain was restored, Virginia transferred its title to that territory to the United States. There were no restrictions imposed upon the holding of slaves in the territory north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi rivers during its occupation by France, England or Virginia, and prior to the passage of the Ordinance of 1787 negro slavery appeared to be as firmly established north of the Ohio as it was south of that river. By article VI of the Ordinance of 1787 it was provided: "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted." The insertion of this article in the Ordinance of 1787 caused great uneasiness among the slaveholders residing east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio, which territory was known as the Northwest territory, and from which territory were subsequently carved out the free states of Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin and Michigan. Governor St. Clair, and subsequently Governor Harrison, took the position, however, that the Ordinance of 1787 should be given a prospective effect, and that it did not affect the status of slaves held in the Northwest territory prior to 1787, and that view was apparently acquiesced in by the people and courts in

that territory for many years. That construction of the ordinance did not permit the bringing of slaves into the Northwest territory from the slave states, and to encourage the emigration of slaveholders, with their slaves, from the states situated south and east of the Ohio river, a system of "voluntary servitude" was created in that part of the Northwest territory out of which the territories of Indiana and Illinois were subsequently formed. Under the voluntary system slaves were indentured to their masters, males until they were 35 years, and females until they were 32 years of age, and the children born to persons of color during their period of service might be indentured to serve, the boys until they were 30 years, and the girls until they were 28 years of age, and unless slaves were indentured within thirty days after they were brought into the territory, they could be removed by their masters from the territory. The legality of the system of voluntary servitude was recognized by a statute of the Indiana territory passed in 1807, which was subsequently re-enacted in the territory of Illinois.

At the time the territory of Illinois was organized there were found therein French negro slaves, indentured negro slaves, and free negroes. In the convention which framed the Constitution of 1818 for Illinois, there were three classes of delegates, those opposed to negro slavery in any form, those in favor of negro slavery in its absolute form, and those who favored a middle course—that is, the voluntary system. The conservatives incorporated into that Constitution their view, and while it was provided therein that slavery or involuntary servitude should not thereafter be introduced into this State otherwise than for the punishment of crimes, the voluntary system was fully recognized. Although the Constitution of 1818 barred slavery from the State in the future, it was contended it did not confer freedom upon the French negro slaves who were in the territory prior to the admission of the State into the Union, and although the term of service for which a black man was permitted to indenture himself was shortened to one year, and the children of indentured slaves could not be indentured for a longer period than the boys, until they arrived at 21 years, and the girls at the age of 18 years, it was held not to affect the terms of service of slaves then under contract of service. The State Legislature, at its first session after the admission of the State, re-enacted, with all their severity, the "Black Laws" which had been in force in the territory. Those laws were originally largely copied from the slave codes of the states of Kentucky and Virginia, and under these a negro, free or slave, was practically without protection. If free, unless he could present a certificate of freedom from a court of record, he was liable to arrest and imprisonment and to be sold to service by the sheriff of the county for a period of one year, and if he sought employment he was in constant danger of being kidnapped by the desperadoes who infested the country, and sold "down the river." A slave, indentured or otherwise, could not bring a suit or testify in court. If found from home, he was publicly whipped. He might be sold upon execution or mortgaged to pay or secure his master's debt, and upon his master's death, he passed to the administrator or executor of the master, along with the master's horses and mules. The Black Laws were passed by the Legislature and administered with a view to force all the negroes in Illinois, other than the French negro slaves, into the voluntary system. The free negro's condition thereby was rendered more deplorable than that of the French negro slave or the indentured slave. The negro who had a master, had a home, while the free negro, by the administration of the Black Laws, was made an outcast who might be hunted down like a beast and by force or fraud deprived of his freedom.

The settled portion of Illinois in 1820, bordered upon the states of Kentucky and Missouri, and the slaveholder from Kentucky, passing through Illinois to Missouri with his horses, mules, cattle and drove of slaves, often remarked that he regretted Illinois was not a slave State, as he would, if it were a slave State, settle upon its fertile prairies with his slaves. Money was scarce and the times were hard, and the cry went up from the pro-slavery men all over southern Illinois that a great mistake had been made in bringing Illinois into the Union as a free State, and they urged that a

convention should be called to change the Constitution of the State upon the subject of slavery. There was great excitement on the slavery question in the election in the fall of 1822. Hon. Edward Coles, a strong anti-slavery man who had migrated from Virginia to Illinois three years before and who had freed his slaves, was elected Governor, over Judge Joseph P. Philips, the pro-slavery candidate, by a plurality of forty-six votes. A majority of the members of the Legislature were, however, pro-slavery, and at the session of 1823 it was determined by the pro-slavery members to call a convention to amend the Constitution. They could, however, not command the necessary two-thirds vote to submit the question of calling a convention to the people. When the Legislature met there was a contest from Pike county between Nicholas Hanson and John Shaw. Hanson was seated and voted for United States Senator, and on his refusing to vote to call a convention, the pro-slavery men unseated him and Shaw was seated in his place, and with Shaw's vote in the House and the vote of John Grammer, of Union county, in the Senate, who arrived after the Senate had been organized and after a vote had been carried laying a resolution providing for the calling of a convention upon the table, the pro-slavery men mustered the necessary two-thirds vote and a convention was called. The election was held on the 2d of August, 1824, and the proposition for the convention was defeated by a majority of 1,668 votes out of a total vote of 11,612, and Illinois remained, in theory at least, a free State.

The contest of 1824 over the calling of a convention to revise the Constitution, was one of the most bitter political contests ever waged in the history of the State. It was but a forerunner of the resort to arms which drenched the country in blood thirty-seven years later. The men who opposed the proposition to make Illinois a slave State at the time the Constitution of 1818 was framed and those who voted against the calling of a convention to amend the Constitution in 1824, were not generally in favor of emancipation. The agitation in favor of emancipation came a few years later. In 1837 Elijah P. Lovejoy was murdered at Alton by a pro-slavery mob, and the printing press upon which he had printed *The Observer*, a strong anti-slavery newspaper, was destroyed, and in 1854 the Missouri Compromise measure was repealed. Following these events the struggle between the men in the northern Mississippi valley who favored and those who opposed negro slavery and its extention into the free territories of the Northwest continued until the bitterness engendered, growing out of the agitation upon the slavery question throughout the Union, resulted in the firing upon the United States flag by the southern slaveholders at Fort Sumpter, which was followed immediately by the War of the Rebellion.

The soundness of the doctrine that the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787 did not apply to negro slaves held in the Northwest territory at the time of its passage, and that negro slaves subsequently brought into Illinois by their masters might be deprived of their freedom by contract by virtue of the Territorial Act of 1807, or the State Constitution of 1818, was challenged by many of the best lawyers residing in Illinois. Especially was this true from 1835 to 1860, during which latter period such lawyers as Abraham Lincoln, Lyman Trumbull, Gustav Koerner, James H. Collins, W. T. M. Davis, Nathaniel Niles, John M. Palmer and others advised the negroes held in bondage in Illinois that they were not legally held as slaves and that they were entitled to their freedom, and in many instances these men fearlessly stood by their opinions and defended successfully in the courts, without money and without price, negroes who were sought to be deprived of their freedom. Cases, however, involving the legal rights of negroes held as slaves found their way into the courts, especially the courts of last resort in Illinois, slowly. The first case to reach the Supreme Court was that of Cornelius v. Cohen (Breese, 131), which was decided in 1825. It involved the right to freedom of a negro girl named Betsey, whose mother, Rachel, had indentured herself to one Joseph Cornelius on Oct. 6, 1804, for a term of fifteen years. The indenture, which had been signed only by Rachel, had expired, and she was conceded to be entitled to her freedom. Cornelius claimed, however, the right to the service of her child Betsey

under the Territorial Act of 1807. The court, speaking through Mr. Justice Lockwood, held, however, that the indenture, not having been signed by Cornelius, was not within the provisions of section 13 of the Act of 1807, and that the girl was entitled to her freedom. In 1839 a suit was brought by the administrators of Nathan Cromwell against David Bailey, in the circuit court of Tazewell county, upon a promissory note made to Cromwell, in his lifetime, by Bailey, for the purchase of a negro girl named Nance. The plaintiff was represented by Judge Stephen T. Logan, and the defendant by Abraham Lincoln. Judgment was rendered upon the note by Judge William Thomas, who presided at the trial, in favor of the plaintiff for $431.97. The defendant appealed the case to the Supreme Court, where it was contended the note was without consideration and void, as it was given as the purchase price of a human being who the evidence showed was free and therefore not the subject of sale. The Supreme Court reversed the trial court, the opinion being written by Judge Breese (3 Scam., 71) who held, contrary to the established rule in many of the southern states, that the presumption in Illinois was that a negro was free and not the subject of sale. This case established a broad principle in the jurisprudence of our State. Under the old rule the burden was upon the negro to establish that he was free, as the presumption obtained that a black man was a slave. Under the rule established in this case the presumption obtained that a black man was free, and the person who asserted he was a slave was required to bring forward his proof, which he often could not do. Many other cases involving the rights of a negro slave, under the Act of 1807, the Constitution of 1818, and the Act of 1819, in the course of time reached the Supreme Court, among which are the cases of Nance v. Howard (Breese, 242); Phoebe v. Jay (Breese, 268); Boon v. Juliet (1 Scam., 258); Choisser v. Hargrave (1 Scam., 317); Kinney v. Cook (3 Scam., 232); Willard v. People (4 Scam., 461); Thornton's Case (11 Ill., 332); Hone v. Ammons (14 Ill., 29), and Rodney v. Illinois Central Railroad Co. (19 Ill., 42). The early reported cases, it is sometimes said, often seem to reflect pro-slavery views, but after the decision in the Cromwell case, I am of the opinion that may not truthfully be said.

In 1845 the case of Jarrot v. Jarrot (2 Gilm., 1) was decided. That was an action of assumpsit by the descendant of a French negro slave against his master for wages. The negro was defeated in the lower court, but the case was reversed by the Supreme Court. Separate opinions were filed by Justices Scates and Young. The opinion by Justice Young contains an exhaustive review of the former decisions of that court and the legal history of negro slavery in all its forms in the State of Illinois, and the judgment rendered by the Supreme Court in that case sounded the death knell of the institution of human slavery in Illinois. The court held article VI of the Ordinance of 1787, contrary to the views expressed by Governors St. Clair and Harrison and acted upon by the people and the lower courts for many years, to be retroactive in its operation—that is, it applied to all negro slaves in the Northwest territory at the time of its passage. The effect of this decision was to liberate all the French negro slaves and their children in Illinois from the bondage which for thirty-eight years had illegally deprived them and their ancestors of their freedom.

The Cromwell and Jarrot cases afford excellent examples of the effect of legitimate judicial construction. In the first case the court held that all legitimate presumptions were to be indulged in favor of human liberty casting the burden of proof upon him to establish his contention who asserts that a human being is not entitled to his freedom, which presumption, for the want of proof, had the effect to establish that all persons found in the situation of the girl Nance were entitled to their freedom, and by the holding in the Jarrot case that a statute, when the words thereof, when taken in connection with its context, show such to have been the clear intention of the law-making power, should be retroactively construed, the effect of which was to restore to their natural state, which is freedom, a large number of persons in Illinois who had been the victims of the misconstruction of the Ordinance of 1787. In both cases human liberty seems

to have rested upon a technicality. Nevertheless, in time, the rights of the persons involved were established and vindicated by a wholesome interpretation of the law by a wise and fearless judiciary.

The cases hereinbefore referred to were civil cases. During the same period numerous prosecutions for harboring negro slaves were carried on in the courts of this State under the provisions of the following section of the criminal code of Illinois, which declared that "if any person shall harbor or secrete any negro, mulatto, or person of color, the same being a slave or servant, owing service or labor to any other persons, whether they reside in this State or any other state or territory or district within the limits and under the jurisdiction of the United States, or shall in any wise hinder or prevent the lawful owner or owners of such slaves or servants from retaking them in a lawful manner, every such person so offending shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and fined not exceeding $500.00, or imprisoned not exceeding six months." The leading case was that of Eells v. People (4 Scam., 498), which went to the Supreme Court of the United States. (Moore, Executor, etc., v. People, 14 Howard, 13.) Richard Eells was indicted and convicted for harboring a slave and fined $400.00. The judgment of the lower court was affirmed by both the Supreme Court of Illinois and the Supreme Court of the United States, the constitutionality of the statute being established by the decisions rendered in each of those courts.

The statute referred to is the one under which Owen Lovejoy was indicted at the May term, 1843, of the circuit court of Bureau county and tried before a jury and acquitted on the seventh day of October of the same year. Owen Lovejoy was a brother of Elijah P. Lovejoy, was a Congregational minister and resided in Princeton. The indictment contained two counts. The first count charged him with harboring a negro slave named Agnes; the second with harboring a negro slave named Nancy. He was held to bail in the sum of $500.00. The prosecution was represented by Judge Norman H. Purple and by Hon. B. F. Fridley, and the defendant was represented by Hon. James H. Collins and Caleb Cook, and Judge John Dean Caton, who occupied a position on the Supreme bench of this State for many years and who was a jurist of great renown, presided at the trial. Owing to the prominence of the defendant, the trial excited the greatest interest throughout the State and the nation, and, as both Mr. Lovejoy and Mr. Collins were pronounced abolitionists, the acquittal of Mr. Lovejoy was considered by the anti-slavery men of that day a great triumph for the principles which they advocated. It is said prior to the trial a pro-slavery man approached Mr. Fridley and offered him a handsome fee if he would "send that abolition preacher to the penitentiary." Mr. Fridley declined the fee, as it was his official duty to prosecute the case, and remarked to the zealous pro-slavery men that "the prosecution of Lovejoy was a good deal more likely to result in sending him to Congress than to the penitentiary," which remark was prophetic of the result of the trial. Mr. Lovejoy, upon his acquittal, was sent to Congress, where he served his district with great credit for many years, and where he attained great renown by reason of his bold defiance of the slave power of the South, whose members in Congress were in the habit of brow-beating and of often assaulting the members from the North who were opposed to slavery.

I have in my possession a copy of the record in the Lovejoy case, portions of which I will read, and, with the consent of the Society, will attach as an appendix to this paper.

Before leaving this phase of my subject I desire to refer to one more case, which was decided by the Supreme Court of Illinois. The Constitution of 1848 provided that the General Assembly should pass such laws as might be necessary effectually to prevent free negroes from permanently settling in this State and to prevent owners of slaves from bringing them into the State for the purpose of setting them free. On Feb. 12, 1853, a statute was passed by the Legislature pursuant to this constitutional provision, which provided that any negro or mulatto, bound or free, who should come into

the State and remain in the State for a period of ten days with the intention of permanently settling in the State, should be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction, in case he failed to pay the fine imposed upon him, he should be sold at public auction by the sheriff of the county to any person who would pay the fine and costs for the shortest period of his services. In December, 1862, a mulatto named Nelson was arrested and carried before a justice of the peace in Hancock county and convicted of a violation of that statute. An appeal was prosecuted to the circuit court of that county, and a change of venue was later granted to the circuit court of Adams county, where the defendant was again convicted. The case was carried by writ of error to the Supreme Court in 1864 (33 Ill., 390), where the contention was made that the effect of the judgment was to reduce the defendant to a state of slavery, which was unlawful in the State of Illinois, and that the statute under which the conviction was had and the judgment was rendered was therefore unconstitutional. The court held the statute constitutional and affirmed the judgment of conviction. Thus, although slavery had not existed even in form in Illinois subsequent to 1845, in 1864, and after the Emancipation Proclamation had been issued, and just at the close of the War of the Rebellion, by virtue of the Constitution of 1848 and the Act of 1853, the Supreme Court was forced to hold that it was unlawful for a black man, under the laws of this State, to acquire a permanent home in Illinois. That case was the last case decided by the Supreme Court of this State bearing upon the slavery question or the status of the colored man in Illinois, prior to the amendments to the Constitution of the United States, adopted subsequent to 1864. In 1865 the Legislature repealed the Black Laws of 1819 and the equally oppressive statute of 1853, and the principles of the Declaration of Independence, penned by the immortal Jefferson, that "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," then went into force, not only in theory but in fact, in the State of Illinois.

From the earliest settlement of the State, and especially subsequent to the admission of Missouri as a slave state, many runaway negroes from Kentucky and Missouri found their way into Illinois, and as they fled in the darkness over the prairies of Illinois, guided only by the North star, towards Canada and freedom, they were often pursued by the slave catcher with the instinct and tenacity of the blood-hound, and while pro-slavery men assisted the slave hunter to run down and recapture runaway slaves, the anti-slavery men of the State often clothed, fed and housed them and assisted those panting fugitives as they fled from their masters in their attempt to escape from bondage to the land of freedom. In some way, which is not now easily understood, three great "Underground Railway" lines, with their termini upon the Mississippi river and Lake Michigan, were established across the State of Illinois. One started at Chester, another at Alton, and the other at Quincy. The Quincy line passed over substantially the same route from Quincy to Chicago now daily traversed by the trains of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad Company. There were stations at Galesburg, in Knox county, at Wethersfield, in Henry county, and at Princeton, the home of Owen Lovejoy, in Bureau county, and over these underground railways hundreds of black men, black women and black children were transferred from bondage to freedom. The engineers, conductors, brakemen and station agents upon these lines of railway were God-fearing men, and had the courage of their convictions, and if occasion required, they did not hesitate, when upon duty, to use force to protect their passengers from the interference of slave owners and slave catchers, whom they loathed and despised. The men who were thus engaged in assisting negro slaves to escape from bondage, violated the statute law of both the State and the nation. This they knew, but they justified their action by an appeal to the "higher law."

Almost two centuries have passed since Philip Francis Renault landed with his cargo of slaves at St. Philip. The negro has been emancipated from slavery, and Illinois has become the Empire State of the Mississippi

valley, and in closing I desire to express the wish that Illinois may occupy as advanced a position in educating the black man to prepare him to intelligently and patriotically perform the duties of citizenship and in securing to him his constitutional rights, as it occupied in the struggle for his release from bondage.

APPENDIX.

Of the May Term of the Bureau County Circuit Court in the year of Our Lord One thousand eight hundred and forty-three.

State of Illinois }
ss.
Bureau County }

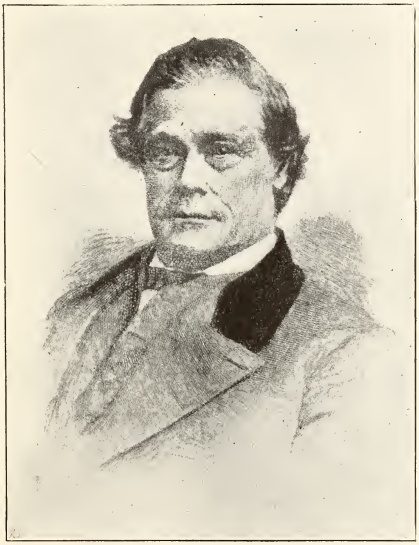
The Grand Jurors chosen selected and sworn in and for the County of Bureau in the name and by the authority of the People of the State of Illinois upon their oaths present that Owen Lovejoy late of the said County of Bureau on the first day of March in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and forty-two at and within the County of Bureau—a certain Negro woman and person of color called "Agnes," she the said "Agnes" then and there being a slave and owing service and labour to some person to the Jurors aforesaid unknown residing within some State Territory or District to the Jurors aforesaid unknown within the limits and under the jurisdiction of the United States then and there by keeping the said "Agnes" in his dwelling house—feeding, clothing and comforting her the said "Agnes"—he the said Owen Lovejoy then and there the said "Agnes" so being a slave and owing service as aforesaid unlawfully and wilfully did harbour & secrete contrary to the form of the Statute in such cases made and provided and against the Peace and dignity of the same People of the State of Illinois.

And the Jurors aforesaid upon their oaths aforesaid in the name and by the authority of the People aforesaid do further present that Owen Lovejoy late of the said County on the first day of February in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and Forty-three at and within the County of Bureau aforesaid a certain Negro woman and person of color called "Nancy" she the said "Nancy" then and there being a Slave and owing service and labour to some person to the Jurors aforesaid unknown residing within some State Territory or District to the Jurors aforesaid unknown within the limits and under the jurisdiction of the United States then & there by keeping the said "Nancy" in his dwelling house—conveying her from place to place and by feeding, clothing & comforting her the said "Nancy" he the said Owen Lovejoy then and there the said "Nancy" so being a slave and owing service as aforesaid unlawfully & wilfully did harbour and secrete contrary to the form of the Statute in such cases made and provided and against the Peace and dignity of the same People of the State of Illinois.

N. H. Purple
States Atty pro tem.

(Endorsed)
The People
vs
Owen Lovejoy.

Indictment for
harbouring slaves.
A true Bill
Enoch Lumry
Foreman
Bail $500.
Witnesses
Isaac Delano
Eli Smith
Mrs. Greely



OWEN LOVEJOY.

Julia Hitchcock
David Lloyd
Ralph Windship
Sarah Smith
John Porterfield
Seth Clapp
Asenath Clapp
John Watters
Pluma Chamberlain
Lazarus Reeve
Noah Wiswell
Mr. Greely
Caleb Cook
David Haveland
Truman Pratt
Elisha W. Fasset
Jonathan T. Holbrook

The People of the State of Illinois

vs

Owen Lovejoy.

In the Circuit Court of
Bureau County, Ill.
May Term, 1843.

Indictment for harboring slaves
Order
Date May 20, 1843.

Whereupon it is ordered by the Court that a capias be issued against said defendant returnable to the next term of this Court and that he be held to bail in the sum of Five Hundred Dollars.

The People of the State of Illinois

vs

Owen Lovejoy.

In the Circuit Court of
Bureau County, Illinois
October Term, 1843.

Indictment
Order
Date Oct 7, 1843.

This day came B. F. Fridley States Attorney and N. H. Purple on behalf of the People and the defendant came by Mr. Collins his Attorney and in proper person. Also Mr. Caleb Cook as Assistant and the said defendant being arraigned thereupon pleaded not guilty and for his trial puts himself upon his country and the prosecuting Attorney aforesaid in behalf of the People doth the like. Whereupon there came a Jury of twelve good and lawful men to-wit:—Cyrus Langworthy, Leonard Roth, Isaac Heaton, James Myers, Alfred T. Thompson, Thomas H. Finley, Thomas Stevens, Caleb Moore, Samuel Mohler, Robert Lewis, Tracy Reeve, Josiah B. Miller, who being duly elected tried & sworn upon their oaths do say—"We the Jury do find the defendant not guilty in manner and form as charged in the indictment."

It is therefore considered by the Court that the said defendant be discharged from his recognizance herein and that he go hence without delay.

PARDON OF SIX MEN OF THE CRIME OF BEING NEGROES.

RICHARD YATES,

Governor of the State of Illinois.

To the Warden of the Penitentiary, and to all persons to whom these presents may come.—Greeting:

WHEREAS, On the Sixth day of April, A. D. 1863, to-wit, at the March Term, A. D. 1863, at a term then sitting of the Circuit Court in and for the County of Adams and State of Illinois, Nelson, Amos, Andrew, Austin, Sambo and John, were by the consideration and judgment of the Circuit Court in and for Adams County aforesaid, Convicted, each of them, severally, of a crime, under the provisions of an act entitled "An act to prevent the immigration of free negroes into this State," approved February 12, 1853, and passed by the General Assembly of this State; upon which convictions judgments were rendered severally under said act, against each of the said above named persons, Nelson, Amos, Andrew, Austin, Sambo and John, and their respective securities, at said term of said Circuit Court: And Whereas, It has been represented and shown to me that the said persons, Nelson, Amos, Andrew, Austin, Sambo and John are fit and proper subjects for executive clemency. Now, Know Ye, That I, Richard Yates, Governor of the State of Illinois, by virtue of the authority in me vested by the constitution of this state, do by these Presents Pardon the aforesaid Nelson, Amos, Andrew, Austin, Sambo and John of the alleged crime whereof each of them stands convicted under the provision of the above recited act; and the said Nelson, Amos, Andrew, Austin, Sambo and John, and each and every one of them, be, and each of them is hereby discharged from all further imprisonment, and from all effects of said conviction; and each of them is restored to all that he has forfeited, or that any one of them has forfeited by reason of said Prosecution. In Testimony Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Great Seal of State to be hereunto affixed, at the City of Springfield, this sixteenth day of January, in the year of Our Lord One thousand eight hundred and Sixty-five, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty ninth—

RICH.d YATES,
Governor.

By the Governor:
O. M. HATCH,
Secretary of State.

English Colony House at Albion, Illinois.

THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENT IN EDWARDS COUNTY, ILLINOIS.

(By Hon. H. J. Strawn.)

To the student of Illinois history, the English settlement in Edwards county must be of peculiar interest. Being among the first settlements of the Territory, formed as it was by peoples from a foreign monarchy, the founders of which were moved, not merely by a wish to better themselves financially, but by a higher impulse, that of securing for themselves and their posterity a home under a government where "all men are born equal," it could not but exert a wide influence, not only on the State, but the nation as well.

So much has been written, and ably written on this subject by the Hon. E. B. Washburne, and others, that in this article I shall confine myself chiefly to the leading characters in the settlement, and to its influence on the State and nation.

The idea of forming such a settlement was conceived by George Flower, a young Englishman of wealth and refinement, who had traveled over Europe and met with LaFayette, who no doubt had much to do with turning Flower's mind towards America.

Flower was ably seconded in this movement by Morris Birkbeck, an Englishman of middle age who had spent much time not only in the study of civil government but also of agriculture and who had devoted much research to agriculture and horticulture, and had proven his ability along those lines by amassing, what in those days was considered a fortune, by farming.

At this time, Birkbeck had considerable reputation as a man of letters, Gov. Reynolds calls him the first literary man who settled in Illinois. His knowledge was broad, his mind, discriminating, and he was unusually gifted in expressing himself in a plain and forcible style. He was small of stature and not particularly prepossessing in appearance, his manner was earnest and nicely balanced between sternness and kindness.

Flower, like Birkbeck, had also made a study of agriculture and the principles of government. So much did he love freedom and independence that his home in England with all of the charms that wealth and culture could give it, was gladly exchanged for pioneer life in a free and independent country under a republican form of government.

This, then, was the reason both of Flower and Birkbeck for founding this colony—the love of freedom, and independence, together with justice and mercy. They hated conditions in England, which were unjust to the poor laborer, who was oppressed and degraded, lacking the means to better his condition in the government. Loving liberty and an equal chance of development, they eagerly turned to the great American Republic, hoping to find there the freedom and justice which their mother country lacked, and to extend it to such of their fellow countrymen as wished it.

At first, they were undecided just where to settle, but their choice was somewhat limited by the system of slavery which existed in a majority of the states. Then, too, they were largely influenced by Edward Coles, afterwards Governor of the State, who, on a recent visit to England, had given them a glowing description of the prairies of Illinois. As a consequence, the

English settlement was made in south-eastern Illinois, in Edwards county, midway between the Big and Little Wabash, on prairie uplands, rich, beautiful, and healthy, and ready for the plow.

It was the plan of the founders to buy one or more townships from the government, to divide them into farms and lots which they would offer on favorable terms, to their countrymen. It was their hope that the countrymen, who might come to them, would hold views on that most serious of questions, slavery, in accord with their own that life in the settlement might be harmonious and congenial, and that they might all work together for good.

Soon farmers of England, miners of Cornwall, drovers of Wales, mechanics of Scotland, planters of the West Indies, of the Channel Isles, and of Ireland, had followed, and now was fairly established the English settlement, consisting of two villages two miles apart—Wanborough, founded by Birkbeck and named for his old home in England, and Albion, founded by Flower and named for his native country. Within two years, there was a thriving population of from six to seven hundred people, healthy, prosperous and happy.

The most of the settlers were of good education, hence, the society of Albion and Wanborough was of superior sort. The settlement soon became known far and wide for the eminent men who lived there, and it was visited by travelers and tourists from all parts of the United States and of countries of the Old World.

These men transplanted to the prairies the arts and improvements of England. Americans in the east were saying that the prairies in the west would not yield a man a living; but Flower and Birkbeck putting into practice their broad knowledge and experience and working together with English laborers well instructed in agriculture, accustomed to continuous labor, soon proved that the prairie land of Illinois was for grains and meadow, the best in the country. Flower and Birkbeck merit especial gratitude for teaching the men of Illinois how to cultivate the grassy but root bound soil on which they had settled. Flower was an enterprising agriculturist, scientific in his methods. He was quick to introduce improvements, and he taught the farmers advanced methods of husbandry. For the purpose of teaching the raising of live stock, he imported the finest cattle and sheep from England and Spain. Birkbeck was widely known at home and abroad as one of the most practical as well as theoretical farmers of England. How fully and beneficially he gave his services to the farmers of the State is shown by their recognition in making him their first president of the State Agricultural Society. He taught how to rid the State of swamps, and stagnant waters and also fogs, by ditching; he taught the economy of making the ditch serve for a fence. As a consequence of the efforts of these two men Edwards county was among the first, if not the first, to institute a Fair for exhibition of live stock and farm produce.

Intimately connected and associated with the development of the English society were two men, who though not English, deserve mention on account of the part they contributed to the moral and financial uplift of the community.

The first was Walter L. Mayo, a young Virginian, who joined the colony in 1829, and became at once a leader. He was commissary in the Edwards County Battalion in the Black Hawk War, was elected circuit and county clerk of Edwards county, and for forty years controlled his county as absolutely as the Czar of Russia. He taught the people economy, thrift and patriotism. He settled all differences between families and neighbors, and as a result of this training Edwards county has ever since been noted for its non-litigious character.

The other young man to whom I refer, was Alexander Stewart, a Scotchman, who came to the English Colony in 1827 and became the great apostle of temperance. Although a very successful man, he found time to spread the gospel of total abstinence so that his county became known as the banner county of temperance, and it is related that from the founding of the colony, until the present time, but one man—who was reared from childhood to manhood in the settlement, has gone out in the world, and become a wreck on account of strong drink.

MORRIS BIRKBECK.

Of a few other men of invaluable service to the State, men who were a great acquisition to the whole country, whom Edwards county gave to Illinois, I wish to speak.

James O. Wattles, was a distinguished lawyer of the early days. He was elected judge of the fifth judicial district of Illinois by the General Assembly and commissioned Jan. 19, 1825.

General William Pickering was one of the most prominent Whig politicians of Illinois of his day, clinging steadfastly to the party principles of the old Whigs, in the southeastern part of the State. He was a representative in the Legislature from Edwards county from 1842 to 1852. He worked only for the public good, and his unselfish services won for him the close friendship of Lincoln, who appointed him Governor of Washington Territory.

Robert Frazier, senator from Edwards county, voted against slavery in the convention of 1823 thus helping the State keep out the system which had proven a curse to many of her sister states.

The men furnished by Edwards county most influential in keeping out slavery were Gilbert T. Pell, Richard Flower, George Flower, and Morris Birkbeck.

Pell was a representative from Edwards county in the convention Legislature. He was the son-in-law of Birkbeck, and he voted against the resolution. How much was due to the influence of Birkbeck and also Gov. Coles, with whom he was thrown in close contact, is not known, but it no doubt was considerable. Still, Edwards county is proud to claim him as a son, one who helped his State stand for the right in troublous times.

Richard Flower, the father of George Flower, came to this country in 1818, stayed one year in Lexington, Kentucky, and probably would have located there permanently, but he found there the system of human bondage which he abhorred, so he came to Albion. He was a cultured man and an able writer, and he gladly lent his pen to the defeat of slavery. It was most irritating to him that a man should call himself a republican, yet hold his fellow men in bondage. How much influence he exerted in turning the sentiment of the people against slavery is shown by Gov. Coles' estimate of him in a letter in which he calls him a true republican and a philanthropist. Coles begs of him, that in as much as he resides close to the dividing line of the contending sections, that he wield his "chaste and powerful pen" for the "furtherance of the best and most virtuous of causes."

No one was more earnest or zealous in fighting the attempt to legalize slavery in Illinois than George Flower. He worked unceasingly and unselfishly, with no hope of material reward, for the highest good of the State and mankind, giving his time and fortune to keep his State free from the wrong which he had hated all his life. When the pro-slavery men were defeated, yet continued to oppress the unfortunate blacks, George Flower conceived the idea of founding a colony of free negroes in Hayti. At his own expense, he sent a man to Hayti to make the arrangements; then with the coöperation of other freedom loving men, he succeeded in establishing the colony that meant freedom to miserable and oppressed souls.

But the man from the English settlement who did the most to defeat slavery was Morris Birkbeck. In fact, Birkbeck stands with John M. Peck, next to Gov. Coles, in saving the honor of the State; Peck with his preaching and Birkbeck with his writing. At the time of the convention struggle, the people were scattered, newspapers were few, and little read; consequently, it was difficult to place before the people arguments against slavery. The majority of the people in southern Illinois, outside of the English settlement, were from slave holding states; consequently, they were either in favor of slavery or else were indifferent. Birbeck especially loathed the practice of slavery. He said he would gladly devote the remainder of his life to rid the State of such "leprosy." He wished to get before the people the true and simple facts; therefore, his plan was first to impress upon them the corruption and infamy of their proceeding in passing the convention resolution; next, to prove from true practical experiences derived from authentic sources, that slavery was impolitic.

The convention struggle brought Birkbeck and Coles close together. Coles' estimation of Birkbeck is best shown in these words to Birkbeck; "who

could be of more service than yourself in enlightening the people and giving them correct views of the moral and political character of the question, as well as of its immediate bearing upon their present interests and future welfare." But Birkbeck had already begun to use his pen to right the wrong. He had prepared an address to the people, logical yet persuasive, setting forth, clearly the wrong and danger of slavery, and appealing to their sense of justice and humanity. This was published a short time before the election, and scattered broadcast among the people. The effect it had in stemming the pro-slavery tide, and turning the tide of public opinion into the anti-slavery channel was evidenced by the result of the convention election, in which Edwards county cast 391 votes against, a very large majority.

Birkbeck published also many other arguments against slavery in the Illinois Gazette under the signature of Jonathan Freeman, changing the sentiments of many who had been advocates of slavery through lack of reflection and knowledge. These were widely published and read, not only in Illinois, but also in all parts of the United States, England, and even in France.

Gov. Coles sought to reward him by making him Secretary of State; how he was rejected is a matter known to all. He never again was given a public favor, for his sad death occurred soon after. He deserves the lasting gratitude of the people of Illinois, for undoubtedly, through his efforts, the vote of the English settlement turned the scale and saved the State from the odious curse of slavery.

Spot, above Naples Ill., on the Illinois river, used as camp ground by the 21st Ill. Reg't.

GRANT'S FIRST MARCH.

(By Ensley Moore.)

The 21st Regiment of Illinois Volunteers was organized at Mattoon, in Coles county, and was mustered into the State service by Capt. U. S. Grant. It was organized in the patriotic rush at the beginning of the Civil War, when so many came forward that the first requisition of the Federal Government was more than filled by the regiments numbered from 7 to 17 first accepted by the Government. Grant was sent May 14, 1861, from Springfield to muster the men in, and he also instructed them to some degree in military matters, so that they were pleased with him, and the camp at Mattoon was called "Camp Grant," probably the first special recognition made of "The coming man." No doubt, in his quiet way, that unostentatious citizen was gratified and moved by this action.

At the beginning of the War, the men were allowed to choose their own officers, and those so chosen as regimental commanders were usually of decided local prominence, and generally ignorant of military matters. The Colonel chosen by the 21st Regiment was no exception to the rule, and soon word came to Springfield of lack of discipline and control. These charges were so verified that Gov. Yates saw that the time had come to appoint a new commander for that organization. His choice was Grant. He gave the commission when Federal officials had failed to notice Grant's modest offer of his services, and when Grant's native state of Ohio had failed to honor its greatest son. So, on June 15, 1861, Ulysses S. Grant was appointed Colonel of the 21st Regiment of Illinois Volunteers by Richard Yates, the greatest War Governor. Grant received the dispatch announcing his appointment while at Covington, Ky., visiting his parents, and at once wired his acceptance and started back to Illinois.

Meantime, the regiment had been brought from Mattoon to Springfield, and was quartered in Camp Yates, the predecessor of Camp Butler which later came to be so well known. Camp Yates was the old State Fair Grounds, situated on West Washington Street, at its intersection with Lincoln Avenue, as now named. The Dubois School now stands on the site of the old camp ground.

Grant was commissioned Colonel, June 15, and soon after went out to Camp Yates to take command. As usual, in those days, every such event had to be attended by more or less burning eloquence, which, on this occasion was furnished by Congressmen John A. McClernand and John A. Logan, afterwards distinguished generals, and both of whom served under Grant. On the way out to the camp, reference was made to the unruly reputation the regiment had acquired, and Mr. Logan asked Colonel Grant if he thought he could control the men. The new officer, with his usual quietness of manner, replied, "I think I can." Gen. Logan did not ask such questions later on.

Gov. Yates, referring to commissioning Col. Grant, said in his last annual message: "Thirty days previous to that time, the regiment numbered over one thousand men, but in consequence of laxity in discipline and other discouraging obstacles connected with the acceptance of troops at that time, but six hundred and three men were found willing to enter the three years' service. In less than ten days, Col. Grant filled the regiment to the maxi-

mum standard, and brought it to a state of discipline seldom attained in the volunteer service, in so short a time. His was the only regiment that left the camp of organization on foot." This much is needed to show that Grant not merely undertook an unusual proceeding in starting from Camp Yates to march his regiment into Missouri, then to be his first field of operations; but to show that in doing so he was also disciplining his men, and presenting them before the enemy better prepared for duty than any other Illinois regiment.

It is history, that at the time it was noised abroad that the 21st was to go from Springfield to Quincy, the local agent of the Great Western Railroad, as the Wabash was then called, came to Grant, asking him how soon he wanted transportation. To which the Colonel replied: "I do not want any." The agent, surprised at this apparent foolishness, went to see the Adjutant General, telling him of the situation. That officer said he "would see about it." And he did. For, on questioning Grant, the latter told him he was going to march his men to Quincy, "preferring to train them in a friendly country;" and, as some other men did afterwards, the Adjutant General capitulated, and the march was made.

Gen. Grant says, in his Memoirs: "I remained in Springfield with my regiment until July 3, when I was ordered to Quincy, Illinois. By that time the regiment was in a good state of discipline, and the officers and men were well up in the company drill. There was direct railroad communication between Springfield and Quincy, but I thought it would be good preparation for the troops to march there. We had no transportation for our camp and garrison equipage, so wagons were hired for the occasion, and on the 3rd of July we started. There was no hurry, but fair marches were made every day until the Illinois River was crossed. There I was overtaken by a dispatch saying the destination of the regiment had been changed to Ironton, Mo., and ordering me to halt where I was and await the arrival of a steamer which had been dispatched up the Illinois river to take the regiment to St. Louis. The boat, when it did come, grounded upon a sand-bar a few miles below where we were in camp. We remained there several days waiting to have the boat get off the bar, but before this occurred, news came that an Illinois regiment was surrounded by rebels at a point on the Hannibal and St. Joe R. R., some miles west of Palmyra, in Missouri, and I was ordered to proceed with all dispatch to their relief. We took the cars and reached Quincy in a few hours." Thus concisely did the chief actor tell the story of his progress, but unwittingly, he had left behind him a trail crowded with reminiscences of interest to his men and to the citizens along his line of march.

Among the officers of the 21st was Lieut. Joseph W. Vance, a young man then, who, by reason of having spent some time at West Point was better qualified for his duties than most of the officers, so Vance was practically adjutant of the regiment in its march through Illinois. Lieut. Vance served in the Civil War, and, entering the Militia became Adjutant-General of Illinois for several years, and is now Brigadier-General of Illinois Militia, residing in Springfield. To Gen. Vance I am indebted for many points in this story.

As noted above, the regiment left Camp Yates on the afternoon of July 3, 1861, marching about eight miles that day to some point near, and north of Curran, on the present Wabash railway.

The next day, being the 4th of July, they tramped along, coming upon a celebration at Island Grove, on the grounds of Capt. Jas. N. Brown, a patriotic and wealthy farmer of that region, and a prominent Republican. At Mr. Lincoln's funeral, Capt. Brown was a pall-bearer, and, on his death the sash he wore on that occasion was buried with him. There are various stories as to what the soldiers did at the celebration. One is that the people invited them, (as they no doubt did) to come to the tables and eat all they wanted, and that they were allowed to do so; and another version is that Grant would not permit them to eat, fearing that, in their unaccustomed plight as to such luxuries, they would become sick and thereby the kindness intended would prove to be the opposite. On this subject of the place and conditions of the celebration, the following statement of Mr. Benj. W. Brown,

Headquarters building at Old "Camp Duncan," so named in honor of a Governor of Illinois who was a hero of the War of 1812. This building was occupied for the same purpose by the 14th, and the 101st Ills. Regts.

a former Penitentiary Commissioner of Illinois, will be of interest: "There was a celebration in my father's park in front of his place July 4th, 1861. Gen. Grant was invited by my father to march in, and break ranks and rest for a while, which he did. He enquired what time the dinner was to be served to the people, and knowing that no preparation had been made to feed his regiment of 1,000 men, he declined invitation to take pot luck with the people, formed his men in line and moved ahead. I do not know just where he camped between here and Springfield the first night out, but suppose it must have been in what is called Spring Creek timber on the highway about three miles north of Curran."

It can well be imagined what an effect the presence and passage of a regiment armed and equipped had, at that time, on the people gathered from all the countryside about. That day was as eventful to them as the year in which it came.

The march of about seventeen miles on July 4th ended at the farm of Mr. Corrington, on the Springfield road, nine miles east of Jacksonville. Mr. Wm. M. Corrington has this to say about that night's encampment, and as to Col. Grant and his men: "I well remember that 4th of July as I watched Gen. Grant and his regiment go in camp just across the road from my father's home nine miles east of Jacksonville on the head of the Mauvaisterre. Another reason that I remember it so distinctly was I had my pockets full of firecrackers; had been celebrating the 4th, when by some means, the crackers got on fire, and before I could get them out, they had burned a hole in my new cotton trousers; and as I was standing in front of Grant's tent that evening, he said, "Son, what's the matter with your pants?" My answer was: "I had firecrackers in my pocket, and they got on fire." He laughed and said: "I bet you are a Union man," and I said, "Yes, sir." I was all through the camp, and the soldiers gave me several little keepsakes which I prized very highly. They were a tired, foot-sore lot, as it was their first day's march."

Friday morning, July 5th, the regiment was on its way westward, and Mr. J. V. Stout, now of Joplin, Mo., tells: "My home at the time Grant made his march from Springfield was 3½ miles east of Jacksonville. There was a grove on the farm next east of my home. Salem church is now in that grove, though the grove had been largely cut off. But Grant did not camp there—I saw him, but was not at his camp, but from what I was told at the time, he must have camped about 8 or 10 miles east of Jacksonville in the Corrington neighborhood, and I think on the Corrington farm. Grant, when I saw him, was riding a claybank horse, and wore a slouch hat. As the men came past my father's garden, some of my people told the soldiers to help themselves. When Grant came along and saw the soldiers in the garden, he ordered them out, and then ordered a guard placed over the garden. I heard him give one order; some of the soldiers after they had what milk they could drink, took seats on the porch. As Grant rode by, he looked from under that old slouch hat and said, "Fall in, boys—and they started!"

The regiment passed through Jacksonville, on State street about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and I saw it as it passed our house on West State street. I was then a boy, but posted as to all the Illinois war matters and regiments. For, as remarked before, the colonels were usually men of prominence, so, when I asked what regiment was passing (one file on each sidewalk of the street), the reply was, "the 21st Illinois." And to the question who is your Colonel, the reply was "Grant." Grant! I had never heard of him, and probably no other citizen of Jacksonville had. But there he was, riding along up the street, his horse moving at a slow walk, an officer on each side of the Colonel. The command passed on up to the Morgan County Fair Grounds, about half a mile west of town, and "camped," as the natives called it. Gen. Vance said it "bivouaced." In either case, there the tired men tarried for their noonday rest. It was in Jacksonville that one of Gen. Grant's characteristics had its initial exemplification.

This is the story: Mr. Wm. H. Broadwell, a well known elderly man, of marked size and personal appearance, was custodian of the Fair Grounds, and let Col. Grant have their use. After dinner, Mr. Broadwell got on his

horse and went up to the Fair Grounds where he met and talked with Grant. The latter undoubtedly felt grateful to Mr. Broadwell, and interested in him. More so than Broadwell would have thought, when the Illinois Colonel had become famous. But it is a household story in the Broadwell family, now that their father has long "been gathered to his fathers," how that, years after, down in St. Louis, Mr. Broadwell was present on an occasion on which Grant was the hero. As the "Silent man" rode along in his carriage, he saw Mr. Broadwell on the sidewalk, and hailing him, called him to the carriage and shook hands warmly with our delighted citizen.

The Fair Grounds had been occupied earlier in the year as a rendezvous for the 14th Illinois regiment, of which Gen. John M. Palmer was Colonel, and that regiment had named it "Camp Duncan." It was a place well fitted for military uses in case of emergency, and had in it a cottage occupied by the family of Mr. Austin Rockwell, son of Mr. Dennis Rockwell, one of the earliest and best settlers of the region. In connection with Col. Grant's presence, the following incident was written of by Miss Jennie Rockwell, as a matter of family interest, but it deserves more than private remembrance, in view of the prominence of the distinguished guest of the occasion. Miss Rockwell, now of Rixford, Pa., says: "Way back in the 60's my father moved temporarily into a cosy cottage on the fair grounds in the suburbs of the beautiful city of Jacksonville, Ill. It was, indeed, a charming place. The amphitheater was new, while there were fine shade trees and excellent water on the grounds, so it was deemed a fitting place on which to encamp troops while they were being equipped and drilled before being sent to the front. To our surprise one day, the gates were thrown open and to the sound of fife and drum, a company of the 14th regiment of Illinois volunteers marched in, and in less time than it takes me to write it, they had disbanded and had prepared for what we ladies call "light housekeeping." Soon the amphitheater was divided among different companies, one end being boarded up for hospital purposes. The agricultural hall made headquarters, and our cottage was the center of a busy camp life.

Rather reluctantly we consented to board the officers, and though only a very little girl then, I shall never forget those days. Col. John M. Palmer, afterwards general, and since the Governor of the State and member of the United States Senate; Dr. Stephenson, founder of the Grand Army of the Republic, other regimental officers and several captains became a part of the household for over a month. The dining room was the scene of many animated discussions on the great questions of the day; hearty laughs over the awkwardness of the new recruits, the latest news from the front, and now and then the sad story of some homesick lad.

Shortly after this regiment went to the front, leaving us solitary and alone. To lighten our loneliness, my mother proposed that each little girl should cook a dinner on a different day and invite grandma to judge of the merits of the young cooks. My sister prepared to make the first effort. Owing to her youth, nine years, the dinner was to be a very simple one of meat and vegetables, the crowning glory in our eyes to be a rice pudding with plenty of raisins in it. The day was set, grandma came, and our young cook, with all the ardor of a beginner, was busy among the kettles and pans, when again the drum was heard, and the gates opened to admit a regiment of men. To us children, the idea came that the war was over and father had come home, but to our disappointment, they proved to be strangers, and were soon scattered and busily engaged in getting their noon meal. Again an orderly came asking for dinner for his colonel and officers. We were quite unprepared, but, remembering the smiling face and genial ways of Col. Palmer, my mother bade them welcome, and soon the officers entered, looking tired and hungry. It being my place to carve, I thought it proper to invite the colonel to this post of honor, but he gravely declined, saying he was extremely bashful in the presence of ladies, an assertion he fully verified all through his life.

All heads were bowed while grandma invoked a divine blessing on us as a family and on the strangers with us within our gates, that heaven might

Camp ground at Allinson's Grove, about seven miles west of Jacksonville, Ill.

watch over them as they went forth to battle and bring victory to the right. It was a merry meal, the ladies explaining the object of the dinner, and much praise was bestowed on the young cook. At the proper time, she brought on with a triumphant air and a "beat-that-if-you-can" look, her nicely browned pudding. One tasted and stopped; another tasted and stopped, while a comical look went around the table, and finally all joined in a hearty laugh. Our young cook, dazed by the sudden advent of the troops, and more intent on military than culinary operations, had used sour milk instead of sweet. Tears filled my sister's eyes, but the quiet colonel told her the rest of her dinner was so excellent, they didn't need pudding, and a few hours later, he and his command had tramped away, leaving us alone. The grandmother's blessing was followed by many, many other prayers for the success of quiet General Grant. Fortune favored him, and he came to be our commander-in-chief, and then president, and died a great general and a hero of his country, and though he traveled around the entire globe, was wined and dined by emperors, kings and princes, I presume he was never but once dined with rice pudding made with sour milk."

A. Y. Hart, then a sergeant in the 21st regiment, one of fifteen Harts in the Union Army, now of Mattoon, writes: "We spent the 4th of July, 1861, marching; stopped one hour for dinner where they were celebrating, but did not attend celebration. It was our first marching, and we were about played out, and our stopping was something I will not—no, never!—forget. My company was "B," at that time I was sergeant, afterwards first sergeant, second lieutenant, and provost marshall, first division, 4th, A. C.

We went into camp at 11 o'clock a. m., in the fair grounds, Jacksonville. I was in your town before and after the war. I am not acquainted in your city. Col. Grant stationed himself at gate at fair grounds, and examined our canteens for whiskey. One man of my company bought a coffee boiler, stopped the passage between the boiler and spout with wax, filled boiler with whiskey and spout with milk, and Colonel Grant "passed him in."

Jacksonville, the home of War Governor Yates, and since of his son, the last Governor Yates, was one of the strongest Union towns in the State, and many are the reminiscences of its citizens over the passage of "Grant and his men."

After the rest at the Fair Grounds, the 21st took up its march southwestwardly out on the Naples road, to a well known spot known as Allinson's Grove, about seven or eight miles west of Jacksonville. This was a delightful place, had good grass, and a brook of water which in early days furnished the power for a grist mill. The immediate place of camping that night was well covered with trees, but those right there have since been cleared away, although a fringe of forest still stands in the background.

Mr. Robt. R. Ranson, a well known farmer residing in that neighborhood now, was then a youth, and went over on that July evening to see the encampment. He well remembers seeing the tent of Col. Grant, and of seeing a soldier hung up by the thumbs. The man in question had been stealing cherries from a Mrs. Boddy, nearby, and was paying the penalty of his temerity. Gen. Grant, in his Memoirs, referring to his taking hold of the 21st, naively remarks: "I found it very hard work for a few days to bring all the men into anything like subordination; but the great majority favored discipline, and by the application of a little Regular Army punishment, all were reduced to as good discipline as one could ask." The instance related by Mr. Ranson, as well as that told by Mr. Stout, shows Grant's good judgment and fairness in not allowing his men to take any liberties in the friendly land they were passing through.

On the morrow, the command was again in motion, and, about eight miles further west, it passed through the little town of Exeter, on the banks of the Mauvaisterre Creek, there a very pretty stream. Dr. Clayton M. Stewart, then a resident there, tells of seeing Col. Grant, as a soldier came out of a saloon, taking his canteen from the man and emptying its contents on the ground. Mr. J. W. Corrington wrote, about Grant's passage, the following incident showing the Old Commanders's consideration for a little child, a consideration destined to charm the subject's remembrance long

after Gen Grant had passed away: "Which is Grant? I don't see Grant!" "Here, little girl, I am Grant!" said the colonel, as his horse drank from midstream of the Mauvaisterre above the big covered bridge, and our Tillie thus had the proud distinction of pointing out the great chief to her playmates and many others who saw for the first time a whole regiment—the 21st Illinois—on the march to the war. It must have been July 5, 1861, and ten days later the writer—afterwards the little girl's husband, met Colonel Grant's regiment at Palmyra, Mo., and camped over night with them, they being en route to the then seat of war at Monroe Station, where, as his diary shows, we of the 14th regiment, had our first view of warfare.

There is nothing of "hero worship" in these fond memories that linger so lovingly in the hearts of America's loyal millions. It is only a recognition of the Divine providence that raised up a Lincoln, a Grant, and others who were to lead a great nation through the wilderness of civil war to greater and grander achievement. It is only a few days since we laid that little girl away to sleep the last long sleep, and but a few days before her death, she told with beaming eye and flushing cheek, as she had so often told in girlish glee, the childish story so dear to her heart, and which shows up our hero in his natural and unaffected bearing."

That day, Saturday, July 6, 1861, the 21st marched about fifteen miles, and went into camp at Naples, a town then of much importance as a stopping place of steamboats on the Illinois river, and as a terminus of the "Great Western R. R. of Illinois." The camp was on a well wooded hill, on the bank of the river, about half a mile or a little more above the railway station and steamboat landing.

Mr. E. S. Greenleaf, now of Jacksonville, of which city he has been Mayor three times, told me substantially the following. But he is evidently in error on one or two points. The 21st probably reached Naples a little after noon, owing to its march from Allinson's, of fifteen miles or more, and perhaps Col. Grant rode on ahead and reached Naples before his men did. It also appears, from Gen. Grant's statement and some other reasons that the regiment was in or about Naples longer than Mr. Greenleaf remembers. But this is his remembrance of the matter: "General Grant, then Colonel Grant, arrived with his regiment at Naples about noon and camped a short distance north of the place and stayed there until Monday morning. I was then agent for the Great Western, now Wabash R. R. at that place. He and I ate dinner together at the hotel, and were together much during the afternoon. He was plain, sociable and unassuming then as ever afterward, and I enjoyed his company. Sunday, pretty much the whole of Pike and Scott counties turned out to see the soldiers. I think there must have been 10,000 people on that camp ground during the day. Along toward noon I was walking along among the tents and happened to come up with two ladies whom I knew and we were chatting a few moments when a slight sprinkle began and we took refuge under the awning in front of a tent, and it proved to be that of the colonel, who came out and began talking with me. The rain ceased and the ladies passed on, leaving me conversing with the colonel, when a colored man appeared and announced dinner. The colonel said to me: "I ate with you yesterday; come and eat with me today. I think I can offer you a better bill of fare than we had at the hotel." I was willing, and enjoyed the dinner very much.

Monday morning the regiment crossed the river and began to march westward, but in a little while I received a telegram from headquarters asking me to intercept the regiment and convey to them the order to get to Quincy by rail as soon as possible. There was no railroad west of Naples, so I sent a horseman after them and delivered the message, and the men started back. Peter D. Critzer owned the ferry, and as the Naples landing was a quarter of a mile above the station, I persuaded him to move his wharf-boat down to the depot, which he did, and when the men arrived on the other side, they were taken across and landed at the proper place. Grant was anxious about some good horses he had, and asked me how many cars were at his disposal for the live stock, and I told him twelve, and he found he would have to load 16 horses to a car, which he didn't like to do in the case of his own;

Exeter, Ill., Hitt's store on left of picture. Hotel on right.

Gardner's, a well known place, on the Perry road, near which Grant's march ended.

though he didn't ask me to break any rules, but finally I managed to accommodate him with an extra car, which the shipping clerk "forgot" to bill, so the report went to headquarters all right.

Grant detailed some officers to superintend the loading of the baggage of the regiment on the cars as the men arrived from the other side. I was busy seeing that the cars were set out of the way as fast as they were loaded, and did not look after the work myself. The officer at the car was a smart Aleck who had probably never seen any service before that time, and felt his importance not a little and acted accordingly. The men from the regiment would come in droves and pile their stuff pell mell into the car, and as but four men could work inside, they would be swamped with the stuff and unable to get it out of the way as fast as delivered to them, and the officer would curse them roundly for not working faster. Finally I came along and the men in the car told me how they were being treated, and I informed the young son of Mars that those men were tn my employ and I claimed a monopoly of abusing them and would thank him to desist, especially as they were doing as well as any set of men could. I returned after a while, and the men said after my back was turned, the young fellow gave it to them worse than ever. It was getting dark then and I had a lantern with me, so I took it and went to the office and returned without it and climbed into the car unobserved. Along came a squad with a lot of baggage, which they dumped into the car, almost covering the men, and the officer poured a tremendous volley of oaths into them. I hadn't reformed at that time, and had not abandoned the use of vigorous language commonly known as profanity, and being somewhat of an adept at the business, I lit into the fellow until he hardly knew whether he was afoot or horseback. I told the men to get out of the car and stay out, for they were doing their best, and not deserving of such abuse. I jumped down and to my horror ran against Colonel Grant, who slapped me on the shoulder, remarking: "Well, young man, I rather liked the way you went after that officer just now." I explained matters and began to apologize, but he shut me right up, saying: "No apology called for; you did just right." Then he called for the quartermaster, who I think was named Captain Jack, and said to him: "Take that young fellow over there and put him to bed. He has no idea of business nor the condition of things. We are working for these men, not they for us, and are amenable to them. The freight handlers are doing their best and should be let alone. Send some man who has a little common sense to take charge."

It was done and we had no more trouble. It took some time to get everything loaded, and when the train started off, I went with them and rode until we met the other train, I think at Mt. Sterling, and then left them. I formed a peculiarly pleasant acquaintance with the new colonel, but had no idea he would soon become so famous as he did. He showed though, in his conduct during the time I was near him, the same qualities which made him the great success he proved to be."

In the foregoing statement Mr. Greenleaf was too modest. He is the sort of man who accomplishes things, and Col. Grant was so impressed with his efficiency that he asked him to go along with him, saying he could not then offer him anything very good, but thought he could do better later on. As the sequel proved, this would have been very true. Perhaps, then, Grant felt his future power. Mr. Greenleaf could not go, and so informed the Colonel.

An incident which occurred about three years later, as in the Broadwell case, shows Grant's remembrance of friendly acts directed toward himself. Mr. Greenleaf became in very poor health, and his physician ordered him to go South in hopes of benefit. He started and got as far as Louisville, Ky., at a time when very stringent rules were being enforced by the military authorities against civilians being allowed to go down to the front, in Alabama or Georgia. All appeals in various ways to military and railroad men failed, when it occurred to him to dispatch to Gen. Grant and ask for a pass. The thing was done, Greenleaf describing himself as the railway agent at Naples, and back came the required authority, greatly to the surprise of the officials who had charge of such matters.

After the 21st regiment crossed the Illinois river, it marched westwardly across "the bottom" past a house known as "Gardner's," and camped at a point about half a mile west of Gardner's and four and a half miles from Naples. There, in a beautiful grassy cove in the bluffy woods, just where the "Chambersburg bridge" crosses McKee's creek, the camp was set. This place of "Gardner's" had a local prominence because of the architectural appearance of the house called by some "eight square," and by at least one "Fort Gardner" after the old-fashioned way of building forts. There was a log trough in front of the house where thirsty horses could regale themselves with pure spring water, and, in the days of the California immigration, probably hundreds of teams had occasion to remember that beneficent act of whoever placed the drinking place there. It was near this point, at the Chambersburg bridge, on the Perry road, that Grant's first march ended. But the memory of that historic incident lingers in many memories, and Illinois is richer for his contribution to her traditions of great events.

The camp ground west of "Gardner's," where the march ended.

ILLINOIS AND THE REVOLUTION IN THE WEST, 1779-1780.

(By James A. James, Ph. D., Northwestern University).

The position of George Rogers Clark was a desperate one when at the beginning of the year 1779 he determined to risk all he had gained by at once taking the offensive and attempting the reduction of Vincennes. "It was at this moment," he declared; "I would have bound myself seven years a slave to have had five hundred troops." The wish was vain, for not only had he received no reinforcements from Virginia but for nearly a year he had not received any communication whatever from Governor Henry.

His confidence in the success of the expedition seemed to inspire his men, and "in a day or two the country seemed to believe it, many anxious to retrieve their characters turned out, the ladies began also to be spirited and interest themselves in the expedition, which had a great effect on the young men." With this enthusiasm, provisions and stores were soon collected. On February 5, the "Willing," an armed row-galley, the first armed boat on a Western river, mounting two four pounders and four swivels, with a crew of forty men commanded by Lieut. John Rogers, set off under orders to take station a short distance below Vincennes and prevent any boat from descending the Wabash, for it was surmised that in case of defeat the British would attempt to escape by this route.

The following afternoon, Clark, with his one hundred and thirty men, nearly one-half of whom were French volunteers, Father Gibault having granted them absolution, marched out of Kaskaskia. It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the extreme trials encountered by this little band of men in their wintry march to Vincennes nor to relate the events connected with the capture of that post. On February 25, the garrison of seventy-nine men were made prisoners of war. Lieut. Governor Hamilton and twenty-five of his men were sent under guard to Williamsburg.

Preparatory to his return to Kaskaskia, with the remaining prisoners, Clark carefully arranged for a satisfactory government at Vincennes by appointing the faithful Captain Helm to take control of all civil matters and act as superintendent of Indian affairs. Moses Henry was made Indian agent. The garrison of forty picked men was left in command of Lieutenant Richard Brashears, assisted by Lieutenants Bailey and Chaplin. Letters were sent John Bowman, then county lieutenant in Kentucky, urging him to begin collecting men and provisions for the proposed march on Detroit.

No victorious army ever returned with spirits more elated than the eighty men who, on March 20, accompanied Clark on his return back to Kaskaskia. Within a year the authority of Virginia over the region stretching from the Ohio to the Illinois and 140 miles up the Wabash had been established by conquest. The danger that the frontier settlements would be cut off by savages under the leadership of British agents was greatly lessened. These results had been accomplished against odds that would have completely overcome men not already inured to the harsh conditions incident to life on the frontier. No assistance had been rendered by the Virginia authorities, and for nearly a year Clark had not even received, as he expressed it, "a scrape

of a pen" from Governor Henry.[1] The six boats pushed off down the Wabash amidst the rejoicing of the people who had assembled to wish them a "good and safe passage." A few of those who lingered to watch the boats until they were lost to view fully comprehended the results which had been attained. Their thought was expressed by one of their number as follows:

"Although a handful in comparison to other armies, they have done themselves and the cause they were fighting for, credit and honor, and deserve a place in History for future ages; that their posterity may know the difficulty their forefathers had gone through for their liberty and freedom. Particularly the back settlers of Virginia may bless the day they sent out such a Commander, and officers, men, etc., etc., I say, to root out that nest of Vipers, that was every day ravaging on their women and children; which I hope will soon be at an end, as the leaders of these murderers are taken and sent to Congress."[2]

When the boats reached Kaskaskia, "Great Joy" was manifested by the garrison, then commanded by Captain Robert George, who had recently returned with sixty men from New Orleans.[3] The villagers, too, were not less gratified at the return of Clark, for he was the one American who had gained and continued to hold their love and confidence.

The problems and disappointments Clark was forced to meet with during the succeeding three months were among the most trying of his whole career. Upon arrival he found the people excited over the recent conduct of a party of Delaware warriors. Learning also of depredations committed at Vincennes by another party, Clark, by way of warning to the other tribes, ordered a ruthless war against the marauders. In the attacks on their villages which followed, no mercy was shown except to the women and children. The Indians soon sued for peace.

Without money for the support of his army Clark had begun after the capture of Kaskaskia to issue bills of credit on Virginia in exchange for provisions. These were satisfactory to the merchants and traders, for they were received and paid at their face value in silver by Oliver Pollock, agent for the state at New Orleans.[4] In a letter of July 18, Clark said to Pollock: "I have succeeded agreeable to my wishes, and am necessitated to draw bills on the state and have reason to believe they will be accepted by you, the answering of which will be acknowledged by his Excellency the Governor of Vir- Large batteaux rowed with twenty-four oars, loaded with goods sent by Pollock, under the protection of the Spanish flag, slipped past Natchez, then under the control of the British, and in from eighty-five to ninety days arrived at St. Louis or the Illinois posts. Full credit was given by Clark to Pollock for this assistance, by which he was able to hold the Illinois country. "The invoice Mr. Pollock rendered upon all occasions in paying those bills," Clark declared, "I considered at the time and now to be one of the happy circumstances that enabled me to Keep Possession of that Country."[5] During September, 1778, goods were sent by Pollock to Clark, amounting to seven thousand two hundred dollars. The following January five hundred pounds of powder and some swivels were received by Clark from the same source. By February 5, 1779, bills were drawn on Pollock by Clark amounting to forty-eight thousand dollars. Of this amount, ten thousand dollars were paid by Pollock after he had disposed of his own remaining slaves at a great disadvantage.[6]

By July, 1779, however, Pollock had so far exhausted his credit that in meeting an order from Governor Henry for goods amounting to ten thousand dollars, he was forced to mortgage a part of his lands. He had at that time paid bills drawn on the state amounting to thirty-three thousand dollars.

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[1] Letter of Clark to Patrick Henry, April 29, 1779.
[2] *Bowman's Journal.*
[3] *Draper MSS., 48 J 33.*
[4] The first money Clark received from Virginia was in January, 1778, when £1200 in state currency was sent to him. Clark, *Accounts Against Virginia.*
[5] Certificate signed by Clark, July 2, 1785. Copy in *Calendar of Oliver Pollock Letters and Papers* in the Department of State, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, CXV., Miscellaneous Letters, January-April, 1791.
[6] *Papers of the Continental Congress, Pollock Papers,* L., I., pp. 1-14.

The flour and meal which had been promised him had not been forwarded. "Being already drained of every shilling I could raise for the use of yours and the rest of the United States," he wrote, "I went first to the Governor of this place, and then to every merchant in it, but could not prevail upon any of them to supply said goods, giving for their reason the few goods they had were imported, would in all probability become double the value of what they were just now, particularly at this juncture, as war between Spain and Great Britain was daily expected, and the little probability there was of getting paid for your quarter in any reasonable time, by depending only on the Letter of Credit and Mr. Lindsay's contract. In fine finding it impracticable to obtain any by that means, and at same time being fearful of the bad consequences that might attend your being disappointed in those goods, I have voluntarily by mortgaging part of my property for the payment at the latter end of this year, purchased the greater part of them from a Mr. Salomon; you have therefore invoice and bill of loading amounting to 10,029 dollars 1 Rial." [7]

Twenty-five thousand dollars' worth of the bills drawn by Clark were under protest at New Orleans.[8] They were issued in favor of a number of the inhabitants of Illinois. These drafts had been received by the French merchants and traders in preference to the Continental money, which had recently appeared in the west in small quantities.[9]

While borrowing money on his own credit, Pollock, in order to encourage the shipment of arms, Indian goods, rum, sugar, etc., to the Illinois country, and in order to encourage down cargoes, in exchange, made up of deer-skins, beaver, otter, and flour while at the same time keeping up the credit of the continental currency, continued until July, 1779, to pay "Bateauxmen and Traders silver dollars for Paper Currency Dollar for Dollar." [10]

Continental currency had been used but little in the west previous to the expedition against Vincennes. The confidence of the people in the government, together with the efforts of Pollock, sustained this money at par when it had so far depreciated in the east as to be worth only twelve cents on the dollar.[11] Traders from the east became aware of this situation, and rushed to this region, where goods might be procured with the "continentals" at their face value. They brought with them such large sums and distributed the money so liberally in trade that the inhabitants became alarmed and refused to receive it.

On returning to Kaskaskia, Clark was not surprised to learn that his credit at New Orleans was exhausted. "I am sorry to learn," he wrote Pollock, "you have not been supplied with funds as expected your protesting my late bills has not surprised me. As I expected it being surrounded by enemies Mr. Hamilton and his savages being obligated for my own safety to lay in Considerable Stores I was obliged to take every step I possibly could to procure them unwilling to use force." He was confronted also with the problems growing out of a depreciated money, of which he says in writing Governor Henry:

"There is one circumstance very distressing, that of our own moneys being discredited, to all intents and purposes, by the great numbers of traders who come here in my absence, each out-bidding the other, giving prices unknown in this country by five hundred per cent, by which the people conceived it to be of no value, and both French and Spaniards refused to take a farthing of it." [12]

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[7] *Draper MSS., 49 J 60.* Pollock to Henry, July 17, 1779.

[8] Fully one-half of these represented the expense incident to the fitting out of the expedition against St. Vincents. Clark's *Accounts Against Virginia.*

[9] Clark to Pollock, June 12, 1779. Copy in Virginia State Library, *Clark Papers*, bundle I.

[10] *Papers of the Continental Congress, Letters and Papers of Oliver Pollock,* Vol. L., pp. 1-44.

[11] *Orderly Book of William Shannon,* February 10, 1783. Virginia State Library.

[12] Letter of Clark to Henry, April 29, 1779.

To the great joy of Clark he was informed that his friend, John Todd, had been appointed by Governor Henry to take charge of civil affairs in the Illinois country. His undivided attention might thus be given to "military reflections."[13] December 9, 1778, a bill passed the Virginia legislature establishing the County of Illinois, which was to include the inhabitants of Virginia north of the Ohio River.[14] This type of government had been brought into general usage by Virginia in her western expansion.[15] The act providing for the County of Illinois was to remain in force for a year, and "thence to the end of the next session of the Assembly, and no longer."[16] The establishment of some temporary form of government was thought to be expedient, for, as stated in the act, "from their remote situation, it may at this time be difficult if not impracticable to govern them by the present laws of this commonwealth, until proper information, by intercourse with their fellow citizens, on the east side of the Ohio, shall have familiarized them to the same." The chief executive officer was the county-lieutenant or commander-in-chief, who was appointed by the governor and council. He was to appoint at his discretion, deputy commandants, militia officers, and commissaries. The civil officers, with whom the inhabitants were familiar, and whose duties were to administer the laws already in force, were to be chosen by the citizens of the different districts. Officers with new duties were to be maintained by the state. Pardoning power was vested in the county-lieutenant in all criminal cases, murder and treason excepted. In these cases he was empowered to stay execution until such time as the will of the governor, or, in case of treason, of the assembly, should be ascertained.[17] Provision was made for the protection of the inhabitants in all their religious, civil, and property rights.

The instructions issued by Governor Henry and the council, December 12, 1778, to Todd and to Clark, who was to retain the command of all Virginia troops in the County of Illinois, showed a grasp of the situation. They were to coöperate in using their best efforts to cultivate and conciliate the affections of the French and Indians. The rights of the inhabitants were to be secured against any infractions by the troops, and any person attempting to violate the property of the Indians, especially in their lands, was to be punished. All Indian raids on Kentucky were to be prevented. The friendship of the Spaniards was to be maintained. As head of the civil department, Todd was to have command of the militia, "who are not to be under the command of the military until ordered out by the civil authority and act in conjunction with them."[18] He was directed on "all Accasions (*sic*) to inculcate on the people the value of liberty and the Difference between the State of free Citizens of the Commonwealth and that Slavery to which Illinois was destined. A free and equal representation may be expected by them in a little Time, together with all the improvements in Jurisprudence and police which the other parties of the State enjoy."

Todd reached Kaskaskia early in May, 1779. His coming was hailed with joy by the inhabitants who, having experienced some of the harshness incident to military control, were enthusiastic for a change, no matter what the new form of government might be. The county-lieutenant was well fitted to fill his office acceptably. Besides receiving a good general education, he had studied and practised law for a time. Unable to resist the call of the frontier, he enlisted for service in Dunmore's War, and in 1775, when but twenty-five years of age, Todd went to Kentucky, where he was selected as one of the representatives to form a constitutional government for the settlement of Transylvania. In 1777 he was elected delegate to the Virginia House of Burgesses from the County of Kentucky.[19] The intimate friendship

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[13] *Clark-Mason Letter.* English, *sup. cit.*, I., p. 411ff.
[14] Hening, *Statutes*, IX., p. 553. See discussion in *Ill. Hist. Collections*, II., pp. I., 11.
[15] *Filson Club Publications*, VI., p. 43.
[16] Act of Incorporation, in Hening, *Statutes*, IX., p. 552.
[17] Hening, *Statutes*, IX., pp. 117, 552-5; V., pp. 489, 491.
[18] *Ill. Hist. Collections*, V., p. 60.
[19] *Filson Club Publications*, VI., p. 43.

existing between Todd and Clark, and their known ability and bravery, promised a successful solution of the problems with which they were confronted.

May 12 was a notable day among the villagers of Kaskaskia, for on that day they assembled at the door of their church upon the call of Clark to hear the proclamation of the new government, and participate in the election of judges. The address prepared by Clark, who acted as presiding officer of the meeting, was well suited to the occasion.[20] "From your first declaration of attachment for the American cause," he said, "until the glorious capture of post St. Vincent, I had doubted your sincerity, but in that critical time, I proved your faithfulness, I was so touched with the zeal that you have shown that my desire is to make you happy and to prove to you the sincere affection I have for the welfare and advancement of this colony in general, and of each individual in particular. The young men of this colony have returned from Post St. Vincent covered with laurels, which I hope they will continue to wear. Although there are a few who did not have anything to do with this glorious action, I do not esteem them less, hoping they will take revenge, if the occasion presents itself, who, during my absence, have with great care done their duty as guardians of this fort." He promised, as soon as it was within his power, that they should become partakers in the liberty enjoyed by Americans, and that a regiment of regular troops was to be sent for their protection. They were assured that the new government was one of such "kindliness" that they would bless the day they had chosen to favor the American cause. In presenting Col. Todd he referred to him as his good friend, and the only person in the state whom he desired to have take charge of that post. He spoke of the great importance of their meeting for the purpose of selecting the most capable and enlightened persons, to judge their differences, and urged that only those most worthy of the offices should be chosen.

The brief response made by Todd was likewise full of promise for the success of the new government, which was to serve as guardian of their rights as citizens of a free and independent state. Elections of judges for the district courts at Cahokia and Vincennes took place shortly afterwards, and resulted, as at Kaskaskia, in the selection of Frenchmen.[21] On May 21, 1779, the commission for the court at Kaskaskia was issued by Todd. He had previously appointed a sheriff and state's attorney. The court named its own clerk.

One week earlier (May 14) military commissions were made out. A number of the men given officer's commissions had been elected judges, and were thus expected to assume the duties of both offices.[22]

Within a few days, Todd was called on to hear a recital of the grievances of the French inhabitants which had been formulated by the Kaskaskia justices. He was informed that a number of the oxen, cows, and other animals belonging to the petitioners had been taken and killed by the soldiers; that liquor was being sold to Indians, and trade carried on with slaves without the consent of their masters. Both kinds of traffic, they complained, were contrary to French custom.[23]

Licenses for carrying on trade were issued by Todd. Fearful lest there would be a repetition of the abuses under the Virginia land law, as practised in Kentucky, and that adventurers and speculators would get possession of the rich bottom lands, he decreed that no new settlements should be made on the flat lands "unless in manner and form as heretofore made by the French inhabitants." [24]

No problem proved more trying for Todd and Clark than the effects produced by depreciated currency. Complications were greater on account of

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[20] Translated and read by Jean Girault, who was Clark's interpreter. It is printed in *Ill. Hist. Collections*, V., p. 80.

[21] The court of Kaskaskia consisted of nine members; Cahokia, seven, and Vincennes, nine. *Ill. Hist. Collections*, II., p. 56; V., p. 85 *et. seq.*

[22] Five of the judges at Cahokia were also given military commissions. Mason, *Chapters from Illinois History*, p. 260.

[23] *Ill. Hist. Collections*, II., *Virginia ser.*, I., LXVII., LXVIII., V., p. 88.

[24] *Chicago Hist. Society Collections*, IV., p. 301.

counterfeit money. By the close of April, the price of provisions was three times what it had been two months previously, and Clark was enabled to support his soldiers only by the assistance of a number of the merchants.[25] While in Kentucky, Todd learned that the issues of currency bearing the dates April 20, 1777, and April 11, 1778, had been ordered to be paid into the Continental loan offices by the first of June, 1779, otherwise they would then become worthless. He hoped that the time would be extended for the Illinois holders. Upon his arrival at Kaskaskia, Todd found that the paper money had depreciated, so that it was worth only one-fifth of its face value in specie.[26] On June 11 he addressed the court in the following letter, the evident purpose of which was his desire to sustain public credit:

"The only method that America has to support the present war is by her credit. That credit at present is her bills emitted from the different Treasuries by which she engages to pay the Bearer at a certain time gold and silver in Exchange. There is no friend to American Independence who has any judgment but soon expects to see it equal to Gold and Silver. Some disaffected persons and designing speculators discredit it through Enmity or Interest; the ignorant multitude have not sagacity enough to examine into this matter, and merely from its uncommon quantity and in proportion to it arises the complaint of its want of Credit." [27]

To stay depreciation Todd proposed to retire a portion of the bills through exchanging them for land certificates. Twenty-one thousand acres of land in the vicinity of Cahokia were set aside on which it was planned to borrow thirty-three thousand dollars in Virginia and United States treasury notes. The lender might demand within two years his proportion of the land or a sum in gold or silver equal to the original loan, with five per cent annual interest. Land or money might be given at the option of the state. Large sums of money were exchanged for these certificates, but the project could not be carried further.

It was, however, the capture of Detroit which was uppermost in the minds of the two leaders, and preparations were rapidly made for the expedition, which promised complete success.[28] In this they were following the orders explicitly given by Governor Henry. "The inhabitants of Illinois," so read the instructions to Todd, "must not expect safety and settled peace while their and our enemies have footing at Detroit and can interrupt and stop the Trade of the Mississippi. If the English have not the strength or courage to come to war against us themselves, their practice has been and will be to hire the savages to commit murder and depredations. Illinois must expect to pay in these a large price for her freedom, unless the English can be expelled from Detroit. The means of effecting this will not perhaps be found in yours or Col. Clark's power. But the French inhabiting the neighborhood of that place, it is presumed, may be brought to see it done with indifference or, perhaps, join in the enterprise with pleasure. This is but conjecture. When you are on the spot you and Col. Clark may discover its fallacy or reality."

Captain Linctot, a trader of great influence with the Indians, who had recently joined the Americans, was sent up the Illinois with a company of forty men to secure the neutrality of the Indians,[29] and at the same time cover the design of the main expedition against Detroit.[30] He reported, on his return, having gone as far as "Wea;" that peace and quietness was general.[31]

Great enthusiasm was manifested on the part of officers, troops, and the French militia. Not only were the villagers ready to enlist, even the old men volunteering their services. They gave further evidence of their zeal by proffering boat-loads of flour, cattle and horses.[32]

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[25] Clark's letter to Patrick Henry, April 29, 1779.
[26] From five to six. *Journal of Virginia House of Delegates*, May, 1783, p. 134.
[27] *Chicago Hist. Society Collections*, IV., p. 297.
[28] *Clark-Mason Letter.*
[29] *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Collections*, IX., p. 389.
[30] *Clark-Mason Letter.*
[31] *Draper MSS., 49 J 45.* Joseph Bowman to Clark, May 25, 1779.
[32] *Draper MSS., 49 J 49.* Bowman to Clark, June 3, 1779.

The arrival of Colonel John Montgomery from Virginia with one hundred and fifty men, about one-third the number expected, was a keen disappointment to Clark. But he did not lose confidence, for he had been promised three hundred Kentuckians by Colonel John Bowman, their county lieutenant.

On July 1, 1779, Clark, with a party of horsemen, reached Vincennes, the place of rendezvous. Here he was joined by the remainder of the Illinois troops with the exception of a company of mounted men dispatched under Captain Linctot to reconnoiter and to obtain permission of the "Wea" and Miami for Clark to pass through their country on his way to Detroit.

Before leaving Kaskaskia, Clark learned that Colonel John Bowman had led the Kentucky forces against Chillicothe, a Shawnee town, and was fearful of the effect on his Detroit plans. This expedition consisted of two hundred and ninety-six men.[33] The Indians fortified themselves so strongly in a few log cabins that the whites were repulsed. The greater part of the town was burned and Bowman retreated with a large amount of plunder.

Clark had now to experience some of the adverse results of his earlier success. Influenced by his victories, immigrants in large numbers had entered Kentucky during the spring.[34] Some returned to the older settlements for their families, and the others were scattered over such a large area that it seemed impossible to Bowman to secure the number of men he had promised Clark by the time appointed, and especially since the militia were so disheartened by the campaign against the Shawnees that only the most tried among them were ready to enter upon a new enterprise.

The arrival of only thirty Kentucky volunteers was a severe blow to Clark.[35] The capture of Detroit with his available force of about three hundred and fifty, even though its fortifications were incomplete and its garrison numbered but a hundred men, was at the time, he thought, out of the question. Most of his men were barefoot,[36] and Vincennes was able to supply scarcely enough provisions for its own inhabitants, and could not, therefore, furnish food for several hundred men on a campaign of uncertain length. All commerce with Detroit had ceased, and supplies could be gotten by the way of the Mississippi only with great difficulty, owing to the attachment of the southern Indians to the British.

Although abandoned, the influence of the preparations for the expedition proved of great significance. Threatenings from Vincennes led the British officials at Detroit to give up their plans for the recapture of that post.[37] A summer campaign against Pittsburgh, with a force of regulars and Indians, was likewise abandoned. Instead of taking the field for an offensive campaign in 1779, the British at Detroit and Mackinac were engaged in considering defensive operations and in re-enforcing these posts with all possible dispatch.[38] Even after large expenditures by the British for rum and presents for the warriors, and food for the old men, women and children, disaffection among the Indians became constantly more open.[39] They and their French neighbors were frightened over the report that an alliance between the French, Spanish, Germans and Americans had been formed with the object of driving the English out of America.[40]

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[33] *Draper MSS., 49 J 52.*

[34] *Draper MSS., 49 J 89, 90.*

[35] "But now came the sorest blow we had yet received." *Draper MSS., 47 J I* ff. *Clark's Memoir.*

[36] *Orderly Book of the Conductor General.* Fort Patrick Henry, July 26, 1779. Virginia State Library.

[37] *Draper MSS., 49 J 41,* and *ibid., I H 10½.*

[38] *Draper MSS., 58 J 37.* Haldimand to Clinton, May 31, 1779.

[39] *Draper MSS., 58 J 39.* Also *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Collections,* IX., p. 411.

[40] *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Collections,* IX., p. 417. "Fear acts stronger on them than all arguments can be made use of to convince them of enemy's ill designs against their lands." Brehm to Haldimand, May 28, 1779. *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Collections,* IX., p. 411. In a letter of DePeyster, at Mackinaw, to Haldimand, June 1, 1779, he excused the increased expenditures as follows: "As the Indians are growing very importunate since they hear that the French are assisting the Rebels. The Canadians are a great disservice to the Government, but the Indians are perfect free masons when intrusted with a secret by a Canadian, most of them being much connected by marriage." *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Collections,* IX., p. 382. Only the Menominee and Sioux remained true to the British.

Despite their apparent demoralization the British showed signs of activity. Lieutenant Bennett was sent from Mackinac (May 29) with a force of twenty soldiers, sixty traders, and two hundred Indians for the purpose of intercepting Linctot or to "distress the Rebels" in any other way.[41] Captain Langlade was directed to levy the Indians at LaFourche and "Milwaukee," and join Bennett at "Chicagou."[42] Indian scouts sent out by Bennett from St. Joseph's were frightened by reports obtained from other Indians and soon returned. Their fears quickly brought about a general panic. "We have not," wrote Bennett, "twenty Indians in our camp who are not preparing for leaving us, I believe you will join with me when I say they are a set of treacherous poltroons."[43] The return to Mackinac was begun shortly afterwards.[44]

In like manner, a force of six hundred, chiefly Indians, led by Captain McKee, was sent from Mackinac. Forgetting his boast that he would place a pair of handcuffs on every rebel officer left in the country, McKee retreated from St. Joseph's upon hearing the report that Clark was marching towards Detroit.[45]

Early in June, Captain Henry Bird collected some two hundred Indians at the Mingo town. The account brought in by runners of the attack which had been made by Colonel Bowman on the Shawnee town produced a panic among his followers. Some of the savages deserted in order to protect their villages against the American advance which was momentarily expected. Still more of them were anxious to sue for peace.[46]

By August 1, all was confusion at Detroit, for the messages brought by couriers promised the coming of Clark with an army of two thousand Americans and French Creoles.[47]

"Every effort is making to strengthen and complete our new Fort," so wrote an officer who demanded that re-enforcements should be sent, "as we are not equal to oppose the passage of such numbers to this place. Our ditch and glacee will be in a very good state the end of this week. An abatis afterwards to be thrown round the barracks will be ready at the same time. I wish to God I could say the same of our well; it is now upwards of 60 feet below the level of the river, and no appearance of water. Could we only rely on the inhabitants, or had they either the inclination or the resolution to defend their town, there would be nothing to apprehend on that head as we might then take the field."

Clark, as we have seen, had now definitely abandoned his purpose of an immediate movement against Detroit, but he continued to make preparations by collecting supplies for a campaign against that post in the spring. Clark himself reached the Falls of the Ohio, August 26, and there began the establishment of his headquarters. Colonel Montgomery was left in charge of the Illinois battalion.[48]

These events ended American activity in the northwest in 1779. In contrast with Clark's bold and successful dash against Vincennes, with which the year had opened, and the larger plans of 1780, the story of the later months of 1779 has often seemed to historians tame and relatively unimportant. The study will have served its main purpose if it makes evident that in the establishment of peaceful relations with the Indians, in the founding of civil government in the Illinois country, and in the neutralization of all British activity in the northwest by the zeal and publicity with which the proposed expedition against Detroit was promoted, George Rogers

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[41] *Ibid.*, IX., p. 390.
[42] *Wis. Hist. Collections*, XVIII., pp. 375, 376.
[43] *Mich. Pioneer and Hist. Collections*, IX., pp. 392-396. *Wis. Hist. Collections*, XVIII., pp. 394-396.
[44] *Wis. Hist. Collections*, XVIII., pp. 397-401.
[45] *Draper MSS., 49 J 73. Mich. Pioneer Collections*, IX., p. 417.
[46] *Mich. Pioneer Collections*, X., pp. 336, 337. Captain Bird to Captain Lernoult, June 9, 1779. Report said that the Americans were coming with a force of 4,000.
[47] Draper *MSS., 58 J 46-49.* Letter of Captain Parke, July 30, 1779.
[48] *Draper MSS., 23 J 127.* Captain John Williams was appointed his aid at Fort Clark (Kaskaskia); Captain Richard McCarty at Cahokia; Captain James Shelby at Fort Patrick Henry (Vincennes); Major Joseph Bowman was given the direction of the recruiting parties.

Clark and his associates had successfully met the problems which confronted them. In view of these larger events Clark's judgment upon his success in spreading reports may well be given a wider content by the historian, and the summer of 1779 pronounced one that "was spent to advantage * * *."[49]

JAMES ALTON JAMES.

[49] *Clark's Memoir.*

THE NINETY-SIXTH ILLINOIS AT CHICKAMAUGA.

(By Charles A. Partridge.)

At the battle of Chickamauga, fought September 19 and 20, 1863, the Ninety-sixth Regiment Illinois Volunteer Infantry was called upon to do heroic service. How well it responded to the call its long list of casualties, embracing 62 killed and mortally wounded, 148 wounded and 36 captured out of a total of 420 present, bears mute evidence.

The Ninety-sixth was one of the fifty-nine infantry regiments recruited and organized in Illinois in 1862, under President Lincoln's calls for six hundred thousand volunteers. When mustered it comprised 969 officers and men. Six of its ten Companies were from Jo Daviess County and four from Lake County. Mustered into the service of the United States at Rockford, September 5, 1862, it was given a month in which to be equipped and drilled in a camp of instruction before being hurried to the field.

It was exceptionally fortunate in its selection of Field Officers. Not long since a group of former members of the Regiment acquiesced with enthusiastic unanimity in the suggestion of one of their number that if every one of the nearly one thousand men comprising the command had been dressed exactly alike any one could readily have picked out its Colonel, for, in his face and form and bearing, Thomas E. Champion was the "one in a thousand" to be chosen as the leader.

Colonel Champion's home was in Warren, Jo Daviess County. He was a graduate of the University of Michigan. In early manhood he was a physician, but later had become an attorney and at the age of 37, when he enlisted, had come to be recognized as one of the stronger lawyers of Northwestern Illinois. Tall, well-proportioned, alert, with a clear, ringing voice and a natural aptitude for the military, he quickly won the admiration of his men and the confidence of his superior officers.

Lieutenant-Colonel Isaac L. Clarke was from Waukegan, Lake County. He was a graduate of Dartmouth College and an attorney, although in younger life he had been a teacher and principal of the Waukegan Academy. Thirty-eight years of age at enlistment, large in size, rather striking in appearance and a rigid disciplinarian, he proved an able second to his chief.

The Major was John C. Smith, of Galena. He was 30 years of age, and at the time of entering the service was Superintendent of Construction of the custom house at Dubuque, Iowa. Since the war he has twice been State Treasurer of Illinois and once its Lieutenant-Governor. As was the case with his associates, he proved to be a popular and efficient field and staff officer. During the battle of Chickamauga he was serving as Chief of Staff to Gen. Steedman, commander of the Division of which the Ninety-sixth was a part.

For a full year the Regiment escaped serious battle, although more than once under fire in minor affairs. It had drilled so diligently as to become exceptionally proficient in battalion and brigade maneuvers and in the manual of arms, and had become well-seasoned by its participation in campaigns in Kentucky and Middle Tennessee. As was the case with all regi-

ments, its losses during its first year were considerable. There had been 56 deaths; 123 had been discharged for disability and 30 had been permanently detailed or transferred to other commands. The usual details as teamsters, hospital attaches and helpers in the quartermaster, commissary and ordnance departments and the ailments incident to mid-summer with much picket duty, had still further depleted the ranks, so that not quite one-half of the original enrollment was present September 7, when the Regiment left Estill Springs under orders to proceed to Chattanooga.

The main army under Gen. Rosecrans had moved forward and was in position to compel the evacuation of Chattanooga early in September, and three brigades of the Reserve Corps had been ordered to follow as reinforcements. In the First Brigade of the First Division of this Corps the Ninety-sixth was then serving. Its march, over the Cumberland Mountains and along the Tennessee River, although somewhat trying, was not especially severe, except that from Bridgeport haste was required and an all night march was necessary. Crossing the brow of Lookout Mountain, and convoying a long train of army wagons loaded with rations and ammunition, the command made its way to Rossville, a little hamlet four miles south of Chattanooga. This point was reached on Monday, September 14. Here were gathered 14 regiments and three batteries of artillery, comprising three brigades.

For four days these troops waited and rested, except as they were required to do picket duty or reconnoiter their front. From the southward came occasional sounds of artillery firing. A prolonged drouth prevailed, and the air was filled with an impalpable dust. Fires were running through the woods and feeding upon the fallen timber, and the smoke, added to the dust, made the atmosphere hazy. There seemed, from the first, to be something ominous in the surroundings, and all shared the feeling that a battle was impending.

At a little after four o'clock Friday afternoon, September 18, Gen. Whitaker, in whose Brigade the Ninety-sixth was serving, was ordered to move eastward about four and one-half miles to Red House Bridge, a crossing of Chickamauga River. Gen. Whitaker and staff led the column, the Ninety-sixth closely following. Swinging along at a rather rapid walk a little more than three miles was traversed. The highway led through a timbered region in the main, although there were occasional open fields. Descending a gentle slope an unbridged stream was reached. The column partially halted, those at the right seeking to cross the stream upon a large fallen log which evidently served the natives as a foot-bridge.

Suddenly a shot rang out, quickly followed by another. Contrary to custom no advance guard had been thrown out, and these rifle shots were the first intimation that there was an enemy west of the Chickamauga. One of the shots struck the blanket roll of Thomas E. Reynolds, then a drummer boy but now and for many years a successful merchant at Galena. The bullet cut many holes in the closely rolled blanket, but Reynolds was not seriously injured. As quickly as the commands could be given, a Company was ordered across the creek and deployed as skirmishers, the Regiment forming line of battle and closely following. As the Company was deploying the first man to emerge from the thicket and start across the road, Corporal Elisha Haggart, was instantly killed. A moment later Captain Blodgett, commanding the Company, was wounded in the shoulder, but continued in command. The line advanced for about a half mile, a brisk skirmish fire continuing. A section of artillery moved into position in rear and began shelling the woods, the Confederates soon answering with a battery. This forward movement was through timber and a thicket, the brush concealing the lines. Two men in the line were wounded, one of them mortally. It was about sundown when the first shots were received, and the short southern twilight soon emerged into a darkness too dense to justify a further advance, and the line halted. Occasional shots rang out for a time, but soon the line became quiet.

The night grew chill and the men suffered greatly from the cold. Very few of them had blankets, as the order had been to leave all camp equipage and all blankets save rubber ponchos at Bridgeport. Even the solace of a

cup of coffee was denied them, for fires could not be lighted, and the striking of a match was certain to bring a shower of bullets. Munching hard-tack to stay the pangs of hunger and clutching their muskets so as to be ready for any emergency, the men waited through the long hours, their teeth chattering and sleep being well-nigh impossible.

Near morning orders were passed along the line to move to the roadway, and the Ninety-sixth, with the other regiments of the First Brigade, marched back toward Rossville for about one mile, forming in line on some low hills near McAfee's church. The movement was a welcome one, for it stirred the blood and warmed the stiffened limbs. In a ravine a little to the rear coffee was cooked as daylight came, and the gloom and depression of the long night was at an end. From the wooded valley in front came sounds of occasional picket shots, indicating that Confederates were lurking in the thickets and watching for a possible advance.

Other troops having come forward from Rossville the lines were extended to the right and left. Groups of field and staff officers gathered about the little country church to discuss the situation, and mounted messengers rode here and there with instructions to regimental commanders.

At about nine o'clock of that eventful Saturday morning there came the unmistakable sounds of an engagement about four miles southward. All were now alert, and every one seemed to realize that the main body of Rosecrans' Army was not far distant and that the Reserves were near the outer margin of a battle. Near the middle of the day the skirmish fire at the front grew brisker, for the Confederates were reconnoitering to ascertain whether or not the road to Rossville was open. This reconnoissance was pressed south of the wagon road, and other regiments of the Brigade had a spirited engagement and sustained some losses, but held their ground. In this affair the Ninety-sixth had no active part.

Night came at last, and with it a cessation of the sounds of battle in the distance. Teamsters and others coming up from Rossville told of an almost constant stream of wounded coming from the front and making their way toward Chattanooga. The information received that night was weird and conflicting, indicating great losses and at least partial defeat of the Union forces.

Gathering branches from the scrub pines that grew abundantly all about, the soldiers made beds on which to lie, but the cold was so severe as to seriously interfere with sleep. Small fires were kindled in a ravine just back of the line, and about these the men were allowed to gather, a part of a Company at a time. In the early morning coffee was served, the soldiers munched their hard-tack and warmed strips of bacon over the fires, for their breakfasts. It was not a sumptuous repast, but the food was substantial and there was no complaint. Let it be recalled that for two nights they had been practically without sleep, and each of those nights, according to old letters and diaries, there had been a frost. This will hardly be claimed as an ideal preparation for the strenuous work before them. Nor is it surprising that a number of men, chilled by exposure and worn by loss of sleep, were sent to the rear by the regimental surgeons next morning, being found too ill to remain with the command.

Sunday morning, September 20, dawned with quiet all about except for an occasional picket shot. As the hours passed the opinion prevailed that the battle was over and that hostilities were not to be resumed. But this opinion proved to be unfounded, for about ten o'clock there came sounds from the southward betokening that the conflict had been vigorously renewed. Orders to advance soon followed, and the three Brigades of the Reserve Corps moved forward in line of battle. It was a beautiful and inspiring scene as the long lines swept out across the fields and through the openings, their arms glistening and their banners gleaming in the sunlight. The movement was nearly eastward, and manifestly for the purpose of attracting the attention and drawing the fire of the enemy, so as to determine something as to the strength of the force in its front. The conclusion was soon reached that only a light cavalry skirmish line was in the vicinity and at about eleven o'clock the troops moved back to the church

and thence toward the enemy's guns. Later it became known to all that this movement toward the battle-field was without orders, but that Gen. Gordon Granger, the Corps' commander, and Gen. Steedman, the Division commander, failing to receive any word as to what was expected of them beyond protecting the roads to Rossville, and suspecting that the Confederates were moving to cut them off from the main forces under Gen. Rosecrans, determined that it was their duty to place themselves in touch with the Commander of the Army of the Cumberland.

As was afterwards known, almost at the moment the Reserve Corps left its position at McAfee's church, the Confederates had struck a gap in the Union lines and were sweeping back a portion of our forces in disorder. So serious had been the disaster that Gen. Rosecrans had felt compelled to flee across the hills and was making his way to Chattanooga, believing the battle lost, and two of his Corps commanders, with almost one-third of his army, were in retreat.

But for this unauthorized movement on the part of Gen. Granger and Gen. Steedman, and the heroic fighting of the men whom they commanded, it is almost certain that Gen. Thomas' forces would have been overwhelmed before the sun went down; Chattanooga would have been retaken, the remnant of Gen. Rosecrans' army would have been forced to make a long and perilous retreat, and the seat of war in the Middle West would most likely have been transferred to the Ohio river. Assuredly disaster, swift and far-reaching, hung above the army of the Cumberland. The Reserve Corps was to save it from its dire peril and have a large part in giving to General George H. Thomas, the well-won title of "The Rock of Chickamauga."

The march of the Reserve Corps to the battle-field proved a memorable one. The Ninety-sixth was the leading regiment and its skirmishers and flankers protected the column. At a rapid pace it moved across the undulating fields and along a narrow roadway, much of the time at double-quick. For a mile or more the march was uninterrupted. Then a few of the enemy's cavalry appeared and shots were exchanged with the line of flankers. Before a second mile had been traversed a larger force made demonstrations indicating a purpose to attack. About this time the Reserve Corps reached and crossed the Lafayette road, which was the main highway leading from Rossville through the battle-field, and took position on a ridge or plateau, where a hollow square was formed to resist the threatened attack. This is said to be one of the very few times during the Civil War in which such a formation was undertaken except on drill.

It was soon manifest that the purpose of the enemy was to harass and delay this body on its march to re-inforce the Union army, and the forward movement was resumed.

Nearing a cove or valley at Cloud Spring, near which a Union hospital had been established the day before, it was discovered that the enemy was in possession. The skirmishers of the Ninety-sixth made a rush down the hill, surprising and capturing a number of prisoners, who were speedily disarmed and sent back to Rossville under guard. Near this point one Brigade of the Reserve Corps, commanded by Col. Dan. McCook, was placed in position to defend and keep open the main roadway, and the two remaining Brigades pressed on.

The fields were now more open, and the flankers and skirmishers fired frequently, loading their muskets as they ran. Several times the regiments changed their formation, sometimes marching in column of fours and at other times by Company or Division front. Frequently fences were encountered, but a few men ran forward and threw them down so that the troops could cross without interruption or delay. At one place a tangle of briers made the passage difficult and compelled a few barefooted soldiers to give up the march and return to Rossville. For a time the cavalry continued its hostile demonstrations, but at long range. Soon a Confederate battery came upon the field and began firing. Shell and shot were hurled at the command, at first with little damage. Later a shell burst barely above the heads of the men, and Lieutenant Clarkson and four members of Company

D were wounded, three of them seriously. There was no halt or delay, but at double quick for a mile or more the column moved under fire. The course was due southward and, for quite a distance, over ground where there had been serious fighting during the forenoon. Some of the dead lay on the field, and guns and knapsacks were lying here and there. Stragglers and wounded men were encountered and gave gloomy reports of the happenings at the front.

When the command had marched about four miles from its position of the early morning a halt was ordered. It had neared the center of the battle field, and was just in rear of the forces under Gen. Thomas. There seemed to be a lull in the engagement, although there was heavy skirmish firing, punctuated by frequent shots from the artillery. The air was filled with smoke, not so much from the conflict as from fires running through the woods and fields and from a burning out-building upon the Snodgrass farm near which the column halted. The march from McAfee's church, although in the main a rapid one, had been interrupted by occasional halts and changes of formation, and it was now nearly two o'clock.

The arrival of the two Brigades was most timely. General Thomas, who sat on his horse nearby, had just learned partial details of the disaster which had befallen the right wing of the army two hours before, and had become aware that the Confederates, flushed with success, were concentrating a large force along the foot-hills of Mission Ridge with the evident purpose of gaining his rear and closing all avenues of escape. The men of his command were well nigh exhausted with two days of almost constant battle, and their ammunition was running low. He had no troops that he could spare with which to meet the new danger now so manifest until this unexpected but most welcome re-inforcement came.

The Reserves were quickly ordered to move to the right and take possession of the ridge which extends westward from Snodgrass Hill, where General Brannan was battling with a force vastly superior in numbers to his own. Again the Ninety-sixth led the way, marching in column along the valley and past the Snodgrass buildings for a quarter of a mile or more when a halt was ordered. The command "Front" followed and the soldiers stood in line of battle at the foot of a wooded ridge, with two regiments at their left in like formation. The other three regiments of the Brigade were similarly formed directly in rear. While these movements were taking place the Confederate skirmishers near the top of the ridge opened fire, which was promptly responded to. Most of these shots missed their mark, but more than once a dull thud was heard, indicating that someone had been hit.

As soon as the Brigade had completed its formation it was ordered forward, first at a rapid walk and then at a double-quick. Up the steep corrugated ridge, through a tangle of underbrush and across gullies and shallow ravines they rushed. A cheer was raised as the Confederate line came in full view, and in a moment every man seemed to have caught the infection and was yelling with all the voice he could command. Men fell here and there, but the line swept on unbroken, except when a fallen tree obstructed the way and compelled a few files to move to right or left and redouble their exertions to overtake their comrades. The charge had been resistless, and when the almost breathless men neared the top of the ridge the first line of the Confederates fell back to a second ridge. A brief halt ensued and a deafening roar of musketry rang out. Again came the command "forward," and splendidly the men responded, driving the enemy from their position. Here the order was to "Lie down," a timely order which was generally obeyed, although in every Company were men who stood erect despite the danger. The roar of musketry became terrific, and over it sounded "The diapason of the cannonade." The noise was deafening and as indescribable as were the scenes taking place upon those rugged hills. The men were loading and firing as rapidly as was possible with muzzle loading muskets. The air seemed full of bullets, but, most of them were aimed too high, for many took note of the fact that the twigs and

leaves from the trees fell so rapidly as to almost cover the men in blue who lay beneath. But, alas, too many were correctly aimed, for every moment casualties were occurring, and it is probable that at least one hundred members of the Ninety-sixth Illinois were killed or wounded in the short half-hour in which this advanced position was maintained.

Colonel Champion had ridden close behind the line, near its right center, and sat his horse superbly until the animal was shot. Lieutenant-Colonel Clarke was close up to the line near its left center, calling to his men with words of encouragement and cheer, when a bullet pierced his breast, inflicting a wound from which he died next day. His companions lifted him from the saddle and bore him some distance to the rear, where he was placed in an ambulance and taken from the field. Lieutenant Barnes and Sims here received their death wounds. And all along the line wounded men were running to the rear, sometimes in such numbers as to almost indicate that the line itself was giving way, while others were lying, dead or dying, or too sorely stricken to move from their exposed positions. There were few if any of the unhurt who left the line, for officers and men were manfully meeting the emergency and giving to the Confederates shot for shot.

But the position proved to be untenable. A regiment at the left began to waver, and presently was broken and fell back. Even the supporting line was suffering to such an extent that it was hastily moved a short distance to the rear. The Confederates extended to the right of the Ninety-sixth and were threatening a flank attack. Reluctantly Colonel Champion gave the order: "Fall back, but don't run." At the beginning of this retrograde movement a few deliberately backed down the slope, loading and firing, but soon all were running, for the Confederates, with new lines coming up, were closely following, yelling and firing as they came. It was a moment of great danger, and well calculated to test the mettle of any command, for, in view of the losses already sustained and of those momentarily occurring, and with the knowledge that they were vastly outnumbered, it would have been but natural that the retreat should have continued and eventuated in rout. To the credit of the men let it be known that, although there was something of disorder there was little in their actions indicating panic. The depression in the rear of the advanced position was crossed, but on the slope beyond nearly all halted, and Company and Regimental lines were soon in order.

The Brigade Commander having been wounded and temporarily disabled Colonel Champion was notified to take command, and, procuring a second horse, he rode to the left, leaving the Ninety-sixth under the command of Captain Hicks, of Company A, who proved entirely competent for the desperate work before him. Later in the afternoon Gen. Whitaker resumed command of the Brigade and Col. Champion returned to the Regiment, again on foot, for his second horse had been shot from under him.

During the sanguinary struggle in which Gen. Whitaker's Brigade had lost so heavily Col. Mitchell's Brigade, also of the Reserve Corps, had been ordered to the right and was moving into position whence it could attempt to again wrest from the Confederates the coveted second range. But an emergency was rising, and to meet it the Ninety-sixth was ordered to make a move that seemingly threatened its annihilation. A battery of artillery had ascended the ridge, some distance to the right of where there were any infantry troops. Flushed with their partial success the Confederates were gathering a large force and moving forward with the evident purpose of capturing the Union guns. A staff officer rode up and directed that the Regiment should undertake to save the battery. Instantly Captain Hicks stepped to the front and addressed the soldiers, substantially as follows: "Men of the Ninety-sixth! You have made one charge; a gallant charge. On yonder hill-side lie the bodies of your fallen comrades. Forward to avenge their deaths!"

Quickly the orders were given and splendidly they were obeyed, the line moving a right oblique down the slope and to the higher ground beyond, striking directly in flank and at close range a large force of the enemy,

almost as they had reached the guns. So sudden and resistless was the attack that the foe, after a vain attempt to change their formation so as to meet this unexpected onset, fled in the utmost confusion, the Ninety-sixth following them for a considerable distance. As they retreated, so close was the pursuit that several personal encounters resulted, the Federals, using their muskets as clubs, being the assailants and the Confederates the sufferers. This movement not only saved the battery, but it created a diversion and made it easier for Col. Mitchell's Brigade to retake the ridge.

There was now a lull in the battle for a little time, although there was no moment in which there was not heavy skirmishing, and much of the time the artillery was active. The Confederates had made a desperate endeavor to drive the Union forces and had been thwarted. But they were not to cease their efforts. Most of the rebel forces on this part of the field had just come from Virginia and had so frequently won victories as to lead them to believe that they were well-nigh invincible. With little delay they reformed and strengthened their lines and again assailed the Union forces, coming forward with rare courage in a superb effort; and again they met a withering fire and were driven back in much confusion, the Ninety-sixth following them for nearly half a mile along the plateau and down the slope, and only stopping when an enfilading fire from Union regiments warned them that they were venturing too far. In this forward movement a portion of the field was passed which was almost covered with Confederate dead and wounded. Several battle-flags were lying on the ground, but every soldier was so busy with his musket that no one stopped to possess himself of trophies. The Confederates seemed utterly broken and demoralized and Col. Champion, in his official report, declared his belief that with five hundred fresh troops he could have completely driven the rebel left wing from the field.

The fire of its friends, who, in the smoke that hung along the lines had mistaken them for foes, compelled the Ninety-sixth to retire by a slightly different route from that taken in its forward movement, and the opportunity to reap a harvest of battle-flags was lost. Falling back to be in line with other regiments there came another opportunity for a brief breathing-spell, for their immediate front was clear of any organized force.

Following this brief respite there came a fierce renewal of the conflict, the enemy massing his forces and again assailing the ridge. It was a last desperate endeavor to force back the Union right and gain the rear of General Thomas before darkness should come and make possible a withdrawal or a re-arrangement of the Union lines. A brief excerpt from a Confederate report will show how important their commanders regarded the attempt they were making and how large a force was moved forward in the endeavor to accomplish their purpose. In his report of the battle Major-General T. C. Hindman, a Division commander on the Confederate left, tells of the bringing forward of additional brigades to his assistance, and adds:

"From this time (4:20 p. m.) we gained ground, but though commanding nine brigades, with Kershaw co-operating, I found the gain both slow and costly. I have never known Federal troops to fight so well. It is just to say, also, that I never saw Confederate soldiers fight better."

It is known that at least two of the brigades with which the Reserve Corps contended earlier in the afternoon did not participate with Gen. Hindman in the onset above mentioned. It is therefore manifest that the two Brigades of the Reserve Corps fighting through the desperate hours of Sunday afternoon successfully held at bay until nightfall eleven brigades of the enemy—that the ten Union regiments were confronted by and fought with more than forty Confederate regiments, and that the Union soldiers were outnumbered.

General Bushrod Johnson, in his official report, says: "Over three hours passed in this conflict, in which officers and men toiled on and manifested more perseverance, determination and endurance than I have ever before witnessed on any field."

General Rosecrans, in speaking of this conflict, says: "After 2:00 p. m. this was the fight of the army. Never, in the history of this war at least, have troops fought with greater energy or determination."

General Anderson, recently deceased, in a critical review of all of the great battles of the Civil war, writing from a Confederate standpoint, says that at Chickamauga occurred their largest percentage of loss in killed and wounded by the Confederates in the proportion of at least three to one.

The closing contest was prolonged and desperate. Stubbornly the Federal forces resisted, giving ground slowly and inflicting heavy losses on the enemy. For two hours the question of ammunition had been a serious one. At one time a few rounds had been brought to the line, the men seizing the bunches as eagerly as newsboys would grab for cookies at a picnic. The cartridge-boxes of the dead, both Union and Confederate, were searched, and wounded men were not allowed to go to the rear until their ammunition had been taken from them. The line, extended to protect its right, and depleted by casualties, was hardly more than a good skirmish line. The musket shots began to show red along the shaded slopes, for the September sun was low and night was near. Most of General Thomas' army was falling back without serious losses, although at a few points along the line the Confederates assailed and captured portions of regiments whose ammunition had given out.

It is impossible to follow all of the movements of the Ninety-sixth on that fateful Sunday afternoon. Three times it charged and drove the enemy. Three times or more it resisted charges, holding at bay or driving off the masses in its front, or, if compelled to give ground, quickly rallying and bravely renewing the work set for it to do. In a few of the forward movements there were two lines of battle, but always it happened that this Regiment was in the front one. Nearly the entire afternoon it was the extreme right regiment of the army, where it was repeatedly outflanked. It did its full share of the aggressive fighting, held its ground longer than any of the regiments in its vicinity, advanced farther than any other command, rallied as quickly after sustaining a repulse and sustained greater losses in killed and wounded than any of its associates.

The Ninety-sixth still tenaciously clung to its position until night was closing in, and then fell back into the valley and made its way to Rossville, the last organized force to leave the line, as its commander asserts. It was a weary, weary march of nearly five miles in the darkness, over a hilly, unfamiliar road, but it led to rest and relief from the turmoil of the day. How terrible the strain, mental and physical, through which these men had passed, only those may know who are called upon to undergo a similar experience. They had seen loved comrades falling by their sides. They had suffered all the torture that comes with prolonged thirst. Again and again they had put forth every atom of energy of which they were possessed. With most it seemed that the limit of human endurance had been well-nigh reached.

There was an aftermath of casualties that should be mentioned. At Rossville, next day, Companies C and H were placed upon the skirmish line on Mission Ridge, and when the army fell back into Chattanooga these brave men were left, and after a brief skirmish, finding themselves surrounded, surrendered to an overwhelming force. Two officers and thirty-four men were there taken prisoners, and eighteen of their number died at Andersonville and other prisons, as did three others who were wounded on Sunday and fell into the enemy's hands.

Briefly summing up the casualties of the Regiment these facts may be stated: More than one-half of those who were in the battle were killed or wounded. Forty-three were left dead or dying on the field. More than thirty of the severely wounded could not be removed and fell into the enemy's hands, most of them being paroled and brought within the Union lines at Chattanooga ten days later. The total of killed and mortally wounded was 62, and twenty-one of those captured died in prison, making the total death loss 83. About thirty others were permanently disabled by wounds, so that 113 of those who fought at Chickamauga never again

marched with the Regiment. Of twenty-six commissioned officers three received mortal wounds, nine were wounded and three were captured. Of nine First Sergeants one was killed and five were wounded. Of nine men comprising the Color Guard four were killed, four were wounded and one, the brave Corporal who brought the tattered battle-flags from the field, was once momentarily stunned by a falling tree top.

It is not claimed for the Ninety-sixth Illinois that its losses were not equalled or that its achievements were not paralleled by other regiments, but it may be fairly asserted, without disparagement to any who met the call of duty there or elsewhere, that at a critical hour and in a crucial position, at the great battle of Chickamauga, one of the regiments that magnificently met the demands made upon it and gave evidence that in its membership were those possessed of a patriotism so exalted and a courage so heroic as to border the sublime, was the Ninety-sixth Illinois Volunteer Infantry.

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS IN THE CONSTITUTION OF ILLINOIS.

(By Herman G. James, J. D.)

Bill of Rights.

The Constitutional practice of embodying in the fundamental law of a state a declaration of the rights and liberties of the individuals in that state, a practice so familiar to us, living under the constitutions of the United States, as to be regarded almost as a matter of course, is distinctively American in origin, and had its genesis less than a century and a half ago. The famous Virginia Bill of Rights drawn up by George Mason and adopted on June 12, 1776, by a convention of members of the old Virginia House of Burgesses was the first embodiment of the principle that certain rights to the individual are so sacred that their inviolability should be secured in the highest expression of the sovereign will of the people.[1]

The example of Virginia in thus formally declaring certain rights and liberties of the people to pertain to them and their posterity as the basis and foundation of government was followed in every one of the eleven states which adopted constitutions following the resolution of the Continental Congress in May, 1776, advising such action on the part of the colonies.[2]

Never had the belief in the existence of inviolable personal rights been so general as in the century preceding the American Revolution, and nowhere had this doctrine received wider recognition than among the American colonists. The principle of individual liberty, religious, political and personal, was so fundamental in the political thought of that time and place that the idea of guaranteeing this freedom by declaring it in the basic law of the government met with immediate and universal approval and acceptance, not only in the subsequent state constitutions, and the federal constitution in this country, but in the constitutions of other countries as well.[3]

To say that the idea of constituting these fundamental rights a part of the basis of government originated in the American colonies, in 1776, is not to say that the belief in the existence of such rights originated then and there. The consciousness of the existence of such rights, and even the formal declarations of their nature and extent began centuries before, and extended through a period during which the constitutional principles and political philosophy, from which these rights and liberties were evolved and developed, underwent many radical changes.

The doctrine of individual rights free from interference or even destruction by the state was unknown to the political philosophy of the Greeks and Romans, to whom the state was absolutely sovereign. Nor does this

[1] Scherger "The Evolution of Modern Liberty."
[2] Thorpe "American Charters, Constitutions and Organic Laws."
[3] The French Declaration of the Rights of Man, 1793.

principle find recognition among the Romans or even in the middle ages, which knew individual rights only in the shape of contractual relations arising out of an interest in the soil.[4] But in England certain customs and rules of the common law had from earliest times afforded some measure of protection for individuals as regarded their personal liberty and security, and the violation and destruction of such liberty and security at the hands of the king aroused that protest and resistance which finally culminated in the first formal recognition of the rights of English subjects, the Great Charter of King John in 1215.

In this, the earliest charter of liberties, is found the model for many of the provisions of the Virginia Bill of Rights, the prototype of all the others. The prohibition on excessive fines and on cruel and unusual punishments is directly traceable to Cap. 20 of the Great Charter, unreasonable seizure is forbidden in effect in Cap. 38, while the protection of trial according to the law of the land was virtually embodied in Cap. 39.[5] Other provisions of the Great Charter were adopted by some Bills of Rights framed immediately after that of Virginia, and copied from them into the later constitutions, among which provisions may be mentioned the assurance of right and justice without sale, denial or deferment,[6] and the right of free egress from and ingress to the country.[7]

These several guaranties embodied in the Great Charter were repeatedly affirmed by later kings, but only to be as repeatedly violated, until again solemnly declared by the people, this time through their representatives in Parliament, in the second great charter of liberties, the Petition of Right to Charles the First in 1628. In this document the principal ground of complaint was the violation of the due process of law provisions in the Great Charter and the statute 20 Edward III, through the application of martial law in times of peace, and the unjust quartering of soldiers and sailors upon the subjects.[8]

In 1679 the Habeas Corpus Act[9] re-affirmed another common law right which a century later was regarded as of fundamental importance by the framers of many of our American Bills of Rights, though not found in the Virginia Constitution of 1776. Then finally, in 1689 the English Bill of Rights, declared upon the accession of William and Mary, in denunciation of the abuses of the late King James II, as a warning and guide to the new rulers, still further increased the number of individual rights thus established in England by formal declaration. Among the additional securities provided were the fundamental rights of petition, of bearing arms, of free elections and of freedom of speech and debates in the legislature.[10]

In addition to the rights thus formally established by the series of English constitutional documents, there were certain other doctrines of the common law which every English subject regarded as his birthright, and which seemed of sufficient importance to the Colonists to deserve embodiment in their enumeration of inviolable rights. Some of these rights had indeed always been kept sacred in England by the crown, but others had been repeatedly ignored, and all were the heritage of the Colonists, and were deemed worthy of the new protection which the written constitutions were meant to guarantee.

Such then were some of the sources from which the American statesmen in 1776 derived their ideas of fundamental rights, ideas in no sense, therefore, newly discovered or declared at that time. On the contrary they were in the language of the English Bill of Rights itself, "ancient rights" to which every English subject had been entitled by the course of the common law and the statutes.

But the American Bills of Rights contained still other declarations which had not previously been embodied in any charters or petitions, and which

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[4] Scherger "The Evolution of Modern Liberty."
[5] Stubbs "Select Charters Illustrative of English Constitutional History," p. 296.
[6] Magna Charta ch. 40.
[7] Ibid cap. 42.
[8] Stubbs "Select Charters etc.," p. 515.
[9] Stubbs "Select Charters Illustrative of English Constitutional History," p. 517.
[10] Stubbs "Select Charters Illustrative of English Constitutional History," p. 523.

were not recognized by the common law, the origin of which is traceable to a different source, namely, the then recent emphasis and general acceptance of the theory of natural law as developed in the works of Milton, Harrington and Locke in England, and in those of eminent writers of continental Europe, during the seventeenth century.

The theory of natural law, originated almost five centuries before Christ by Heraclitus and developed in Greece by the Stoics and their successors could come to no fruition in the birth of private rights in that period when the sovereignty of the state was absolute.[11] But the effect of this theory upon the development of the doctrine of natural rights, two thousand years later, when political concepts had radically altered, was most potent.

In the philosophical theory of natural law as expounded in the XVIIth century was embodied the concept of inherent, natural, inalienable rights appertaining to men as men, and which no government could rightly abridge or destroy.

More than a century before the American Revolution, Milton had defined the purpose of government to be the preservation of the liberty, peace and safety of the people, and had declared that all men are naturally born free, and that liberty of press and of conscience should be respected. Developing this theory still further Locke contended that men lost none of their natural rights by entering into the state of society, but surrendered so much only of their liberty as was absolutely necessary to establish government.[12]

These views, championed by many noted publicists of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries, were well known to the leaders among the American Colonists, in whose temperaments they found a ready response, and whose difficulties they seemed so satisfactorily to solve.

The Massachusetts Body of Liberties had as early as 1641 contained a statement and guarantee of many of these rights,[13] and a century or more later James Otis, John Adams and Samuel Adams filled with enthusiasm for the doctrine of natural law and natural rights, had made this captivating theory the common knowledge of the American Colonists.[14]

Inflamed with the memory of recent tyrannies and oppressions, dedicated to the terrible struggle they had just commenced in behalf of their liberties, and conscious that even a democracy furnishes no necessary guarantee of liberty, the Colonists almost inevitably accorded to the declaration of the nature and purpose of government, and of the rights of liberty of conscience, speech and press so important a place in the structure of their constitutions.

When, therefore, in 1818 the framers of the first Illinois constitution were confronted with the problem of drawing up a statement of the fundamental law for the new commonwealth, there was nothing novel, either in the doctrine of inviolable personal rights and liberties, or in the practice of guaranteeing them in the constitution by express enumeration. Not only had all of the eighteen state constitutions in force when Illinois became a state, contained such a declaration of individual rights, as had also the Declaration of Independence, and the Federal Constitution, but in France also had this principle received effective recognition in the Rights of Man prefixed to the Constitution of 1793.[15]

Of the most immediate and determining influence, no doubt, in shaping the Illinois Bill of Rights was the famous northwest ordinance of 1787 under which, with but slight changes, the framers of the Illinois Constitution were then living, and which for thirty years past had been the organic law of the territory now about to be formed into a state. This ordinance contained six articles of compact of which the first two constituted virtually a Bill of Rights, which though shorter and more concise were prac-

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[11] Scherger "The Evolution of Modern Liberty," cap. I.
[12] Scherger, "The Evolution of Modern Liberty," ch. II.
[13] Stimson "Federal and State Constitutions of the U. S." Book II ch. I.
[14] Scherger supra ch. IX.
[15] Lieber "Civil Liberty and Self Government," p. 536.

tically as comprehensive as many of the more verbose declarations in the existing state constitutions.[16] The authorship of this celebrated ordinance seems to be a matter of dispute, but whether it was chiefly the work of Putnam, Cutler, Dane or Jefferson, or, what is more probable, a combination of the ideas of them all, it unquestionably offered a more natural and familiar model for the framers of the first Illinois Constitution, than even the Virginia Bill of Rights and its copies in the other states which clearly exerted a considerable influence as well.

SECTION 1.[17] The first section of the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of Illinois begins by declaring men to be by nature free and independent and to possess those inherent and inalienable rights which occupied so important a place in the political philosophy of the XVIIth century. The Constitution of 1818 had declared that "all men are born free and independent and have certain inherent and indefeasible rights, among which are those of enjoying and defending life and liberty and of acquiring and possessing and protecting property and reputation and of pursuing their own happiness," using language very similar to that of the Virginia Bill of Rights of 1776[18] and of the Declaration of Independence in the same year.[19]

The assertion that all men are born equally free and independent was given further effect in this State by the prohibition on slavery[20] whereas in Virginia this declaration was believed not to apply to the negroes.[21] Though property and reputation were first included among the fundamental individual right along with life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness by the Massachusetts Body of Liberties (Preamble)[22] in 1641, this broader enumeration was to be found in only one state constitution in 1818, namely that of Pennsylvania, 1790,[23] from which the whole of this section in the Illinois Constitution of 1818 was taken.

The essentially American doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, as also the principle of the basis and purpose of government were declared in the words "all power is inherent in the people and all free governments are founded on their authority and instituted for their peace, safety and happiness," which had been stated in precisely the same terms in the Constitution of Indiana, 1816, and Pennsylvania, 1790, and in very similar language in a number of the other state constitutions.

In the Constitution of 1848 all these provisions were adopted from the first Constitution without the slightest change, though the original committee report included in addition an express declaration of the right of the people to alter the government whenever the public good requires it; a provision found in the original Virginia Bill of Rights and in the Declaration of Independence, and upon the apparently self evident principle of which rested the theoretical justification of both the English and the American Revolutions.[24]

In the Constitution of 1870 the samewhat prolix statement of the earlier constitutions was abandoned for the concise wording of the Declaration of Independence, with the addition of the protection of property as one of the purposes of government. A change in wording that aroused some opposition in the constitutional convention of 1869 was the unqualified declaration that all men are by nature independent, in place of the modified form "equally independent" contained in the former constitutions. Several sug-

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[16] Thorpe "American Charters Constitutions and Organic Laws." Vol. 2, p. 957.
[17] "All men are by nature free and independent and have certain inherent and inalienable rights, among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. To secure these rights and the protection of property, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." Constitution of Illinois, 1870, Art. II, Sec. I.
[18] Constitution of Virginia, 1776 Bill of Rights, sec. I. Thorpe "American Charters, Constitutions and Organic Laws," p. 3812.
[19] Declaration of Independence, Par. 2. Thorpe *supra* p. 4.
[20] Constitution of Illinois, 1818, Art. VI, Sec. I. Thorpe p. 980.
[21] Stimson "Federal and State Constitutions of the United States," p. 21.
[22] Stimson, *supra* p. 20.
[23] Art. IX, sec. I.
[24] In the proposed Constitution of 1862, the Convention adopted the exact language of the Declaration of Independence, with reference to these personal rights, adding, however, the right of acquiring, possessing and protecting property.

gestions were made to alter this by adding qualifying phrases or by striking it out altogether as being contradictory to the real place of man before God and among his fellowmen, but this absolute declaration of man's independence was retained, though not found in the early constitutions, nor even in the Declaration of Independence and contained in but three of the thirty-six other constitutions in force in 1870.

In Illinois, as had been seen, the assertion of man's independence was never qualified by considerations of race or color but extended in meaning, as it did in terms, to all men. Liberty and property as used in the Constitution have been repeatedly defined by the courts in cases involving alleged violations of the due process provisions and may therefore best be considered in the discussion of the following section.

SEC. 2.[25] Section 2 contains the prohibition against deprivation of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, which has proved to be the most effective guarantee of individual rights as against the government, not only as interpreted and enforced by the state courts but also as applied by the federal courts under the fourteenth amendment of the United States Constitution. The first Constitution of Illinois declared that no freeman should be imprisoned or disseized of his freehold, liberties or privileges, or outlawed or exiled or in any manner deprived of his life, liberty or property but by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land. This provision was virtually a copy of chapter 39 of the Great Charter of King John of 1215 as amended and affirmed by chapter 35 of the Great Charter of Henry III, two years later,[26] with the addition of the phrase, "or deprived of his life, liberty or property."

The second article of compact in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 had also declared that no man should be deprived of liberty, or property but by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land and similar provisions had been embodied in more than two-thirds of the state constitutions in force in 1818, though not generally limited to freemen, a limitation probably retained in the Constitution of Illinois merely by oversight.

No change was made in the wording of this section, until the adoption of the present Constitution when the essence of the provision was embodied in the short statement of the present section copied from amendments V and XIV of the Federal Constitution, the latter of which had been adopted but a year before the Constitutional Convention of 1869 met in Springfield. At that time about one-third of the state constitutions still retained the original form, "but by the judgment of his peers,"—which meant trial by jury—or, "the laws of the land"—which meant indictment and procedure at common law,[27] though a number employed its now famous equivalent "by due process of law." This phrase appeared first in the Statute 28 Edward III, chapter 3 and was not found in any state constitutions prior to the adoption of Amendment V in the Constitution of the United States.

This constitutional guarantee of life, liberty and property against deprivation save by due process of law has been expounded and applied in an enormous mass of cases in this State, as in all the others, which it would be impossible here to discuss in detail, though a few general definitions may be helpful in showing the remarkable scope of this apparently simple provision.

Liberty as used in the Constitution means not only freedom from servitude and restraint, but also the right of every man to be free in the use of his powers and faculties and to adopt and pursue such a vocation or calling as he may choose, subject only to the restraint necessary to secure the common welfare.[28]

Property is not only the physical thing which may be the subject of ownership, but also the right of dominion, possession and power of disposition over

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[25] "No person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law." Constitution of Illinois, 1870, Art. II, sec. 2.
[26] Stubbs "Select Charters," pp. 301, 346.
[27] Stimson "Federal and State Constitutions of the United States," p. 16.
[28] *Braceville Coal Company* v. *People*, 147 Ill. 66 (1893).

it, and includes as well the right to acquire it in any lawful mode or by following any lawful pursuit which the citizen in the exercise of the liberty guaranteed may adopt.[29]

The privilege of contracting is therefore both a liberty and a property right within the protection of the constitution,[30] a doctrine which has caused the invalidation of a large number of laws passed for the protection of laborers. A number of cases deal with the question of what are vested rights, as these only are property within the protection of this clause. So for example, there is no vested right in existing rules of evidence[31] nor to particular remedies[32] and in general mere rights in expectancy, as the expectancy of inheritance, are not vested rights.[33] Rights of action are, however, protected[34] as are also accrued defences.[35]

"Due process of law" has been variously defined and variously interpreted, and no definition can be at the same time comprehensive and accurate. It is synonymous with "the law of the land" and Cooley cites with approval the definition of this latter phrase given by Webster in the Dartmouth College case. "By the 'law of the land' is most clearly intended the general law, a law which hears before it condemns; which proceeds upon inquiry and renders judgment only after trial. The meaning is that every citizen shall hold his life, liberty, property and immunities under the protection of the general rules which govern society."[36] Very similar is the definition given by the Illinois Supreme Court.[37]

Without examining in detail the different applications of the requirement of due process it suffices here to state that it demands the equal protection of the laws, excluding unreasonable class legislation, that is legislative discrimination not based on reasonable differences,[38] laws tending to grant monopoly rights, and the imposition of special burdens and liabilities without just cause.[39] In the judicial proceedings themselves, it makes, above all, the requirement of competent judisdiction in the tribunal undertaking to affect the property rights of individuals.[40]

The most important limitations on the individual's right to the undisturbed enjoyment of his property, besides the right of eminent domain, and the taxing power, is the so-called police power of the State. But even this can be exercised only within the bounds necessary to protect the public health, safety and comfort, and any interference beyond that violates the guarantee of due process of law.[41]

SEC. 3.[42] Liberty of conscience and freedom of religious worship were of course regarded by the American colonists as one of the most essential of the inherent, inalienable rights of man, and the religious persecutions in their mother country had profoundly convinced them of the need of guaranteeing this right against governmental interference. Accordingly there is found in the first constitutional declaration of man's rights, viz., the Virginia Bill of Rights of 1776, a guarantee of religious freedom, notwithstanding that the Anglican church was then the established church of that

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[29] Ibid.
[30] *Frorer* v. *People*, 141 Ill. 171 (1892).
[31] *Meadowcroft* v. *People*, 163 Ill. 56 (1896).
[32] *Smith* v. *Bryan*, 34 Ill. 364 (1864).
[33] Cooley "Constitutional Limitations." (Ed. 7), p. 512.
[34] *Van Imvagen* v. *Chicago*, 61 Ill. 31 (1871).
[35] *McDuffe* v. *Sinnott*, 119 Ill. 449 (1887).
[36] Cooley "Constitutional Limitations," p. 502
[37] *Millet* v. *People*, 171 Ill. 299 (1898).
[38] Ibid.
[39] *Bessette* v. *People*, 193 Ill. 334 (1901).
[40] *Bickerdike* v. *Allen*, 157 Ill. 95 (1895).
[41] *Ruhstrat* v. *People*, 185 Ill. 133 (1900).
[42] "The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination shall forever be guaranteed; and no person shall be denied any civil or political right, privilege or capacity on account of his religious opinions; but the liberty of conscience hereby secured shall not be construed to dispense with oaths or affirmations, excuse acts of licentiousness or justify practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of the State. No person shall be required to attend or support any ministry or place of worship against his consent, nor shall any preference be given by law to any religious denomination or mode of worship." Constitution of Illinois, 1870. Art. II, sec. 3.

commonwealth. Similar guarantees of the liberty of conscience and religious worship were inserted into all the subsequent constitutions adopted before Illinois became a state,[43] with the single exception of Louisiana, 1812, in which state the prevailing religion was that of the Roman Catholic church,[44] and the first article of compact of the Northwest Ordinance declared that no person demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner should ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments.[45]

In the first Constitution of Illinois, the guarantee of liberty of conscience and religion contained detailed provisions taken from a number of different constitutions, relative to the natural and indefeasible right to worship according to the dictates of one's own conscience and the freedom from control in that respect by any human authority; immunity from taxation for the support of any place of worship or ministry; prohibition on giving preference by law to any religious establishment or mode of worship; and a requirement that no religious test ever be demanded as a qualification for any office in the state. These provisions were all adopted verbatim into the Constitution of 1848, as also into the proposed Constitution of 1862. In the convention of 1848 the committee reported a qualification on the prohibition against being compelled to erect or support a place of worship against one's consent, by the addition of the words "contrary to what he has deliberately and voluntarily engaged to perform." This qualifying phrase, which was found in a number of the other constitutions, might have proved to be of considerable importance had the state courts taken the same view of the language of this prohibition, that the United States Supreme Court did of the prohibition of the XIIIth amendment by which "involuntary servitude" was held to mean personal service, involuntary at time of performance although voluntarily contracted for.

The section in the present Constitution with reference to religious freedom and liberty of conscience is even more comprehensive than that of the former constitutions, though in substance quite similar. The added provisions that "no person shall be denied any civil or political right, privilege or capacity on account of his religious opinions," had been reported out by the committee in the convention of 1848, but was omitted in the section as finally adopted. It was introduced to cover the matter of competency of witnesses as found in the New York constitution of 1846 as well the then existing Illinois provision as to religious tests as qualifications for office, omitted in the present Constitution.

The express limitation of the guarantee of liberty of conscience so as to exclude the taking of oaths or affirmations, and acts of licentiousness or practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of the State was not found in the Constitution of 1848, though the recent trouble with the Mormons would have seemed to call especially for such a proviso at that time. In the convention of 1869 the introduction of this proviso, then found in over one-third of the existing constitutions, called forth considerable opposition to its adoption on the ground that the proviso was inconsistent with the preceding guarantee of religious freedom.[46]

The last sentence of the section, viz., the prohibition on compelling attendance on or support of any ministry or place of worship, and on giving any preference by law to any religious denomination or mode of worship presents no material change from the earlier provisions on these points. In the convention of 1869 there were presented four petitions, requesting an express constitutional protection of the right to observe the seventh day of the week as the Sabbath, and an additional section exempting per-

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[43] In a number of the states, however, political equality was assured to those only who professed the Protestant faith.

[44] The French Declaration of the Rights of Man had, however, guaranteed the free exercise of religion. Rights of Man, section 7. Lieber "Civil Liberty and Self Government," p. 537.

[45] Thorpe "American Charters, Constitutions and Organic Laws," 2 p. 960.

[46] Debates of Convention of 1869, p. 1560.

sons who conscientiously observe the seventh day as the Sabbath from answering civil process on that day, was moved and adopted, but on reconsideration was struck out.[47]

The Illinois cases construing this section of the Constitution are few in number but some of the general principles to be gathered from the construction of similar provisions in other constitutions will show how the courts have, in general, viewed the protection embodied in such provisions. The express prohibitions of the section guarantee not only religious toleration but religious equality. They do not, however, prohibit the authorities from such solemn recognition of a superintending providence in public transactions and exercises as the general religious sentiment of mankind inspires.[48] Nor does the right of free thinking and free speech justify blasphemy, or prevent its punishment by the law, when uttered in a wanton manner with a wicked and malicious disposition and not in a serious discussion upon any controverted point in religion.[49] Laws requiring the observance of the Christian Sabbath are almost universally upheld as not violating this constitutional provision, though Cooley questions the entire soundness of that view.[50]

In Illinois under the present Constitution the right to testify is included among the civil rights, privileges, and capacities which are protected by this section against denial by reason of religious opinions,[51] though under the earlier constitutions an atheist was, in accordance with the common law rule, incompetent as witness.[52] The Constitution of 1870, therefore, abrogated all restrictions as to the competency of witnesses on account of defect of religious belief.[53]

SEC. 4.[54] Liberty of speech and of the press, under certain limitations, was protected in England by the principles of the common law, and considered essential to the nature of a free state. But in England, for years before the American Revolution there had been serious invasions of this right, and in the American colonies there had never been any real freedom of speech or of the press.[55]. In the XVIIth century Milton had in England championed these liberties in his *Areopagitica* and the numerous appeals to natural law by James Otis and by John and Samuel Adams among the American Colonists, all included them among the fundamental individual rights.[56] The Virginia Bill of Rights declared the freedom of the press to be one of the great bulwarks of liberty which could never be restrained, and in 1818 the federal constitution and all the state constitutions but two viz: New Jersey, 1776, and New York, 1777, contained similar provisions as to freedom of the press, a number of them expressly protecting also the liberty of speech.

In the first Constitution of Illinois freedom of the press was guaranteed to all who examined the proceedings of any branch of the government, this having been the point of attack by the English government in the past, and to every citizen was guaranteed the right to freely speak, write and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty. These provisions were embodied without change in the Constitution of 1848 and in the proposed Constitution of 1862.

In the Constitution of 1870 all but the last sentence was omitted, which contained the essence of the entire section, and every one of the twenty-six other State constitutions then in force, guaranteed freedom of the press,

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[47] Ibid, pp. 1566, 1777.
[48] Cooley "Constitutional Limitations," p. 668.
[49] Ibid, p. 673.
[50] Ibid, p. 675.
[51] *Ewing* v. *Bailey*, 36 Ill. App. 191 (1890).
[52] *Central Military Tract Railroad Company* v. *Rockafellow*, 17 Ill. 541 (1856).
[53] *Hrouek* v. *People*, 134 Ill. 139 (1890).
[54] "Every person may freely speak, write and publish on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty, and in all trials for libel, both civil and criminal, the truth when published with good motives, and for justifiable ends shall be a sufficient defence." Constitution of Illinois, 1870, Art. 2, Sec. 4.
[55] White "The Constitution of Pennsylvania," Cap. V.
[56] Scherger "Evolution of Modern Liberty," Cap. IX.

which of course includes freedom of speech, either to all persons, as is the case in the Illinois Constitution of 1870, or to all citizens, as was done in the earlier Illinois Constitutions.

The establishment of truth when published with good motives and justifiable ends, as a sufficient defense in all trials of libel, both civil and criminal was inserted to protect more specifically the liberty of press previously guaranteed in general terms. In the constitution of 1818 it was declared that in prosecutions for the publication of papers investigating the official conduct of officers, or of men acting in a public capacity, or where the matter published is proper for public information, the truth might be given in evidence, and that in all indictments for libels the jury should have the right of determining both the law and the fact, as in other cases.

At common law, there had been an important distinction between civil actions for libel, and criminal prosecutions for the same as to both of these provisions, viz: the admissibility of truth as a defense, and the function of the jury in a trial for libel. While truth of the matter published was always a defense to a civil action for libel, since a man had no right to a better reputation than his real character deserved, and was, therefore, not injured by any true statement concerning him, in criminal prosecutions for libel, the truth of the matter published, being rather a greater provocative to the person libelled to retaliate by acts involving a breach of peace—which last consideration was the original basis of all common law jurisdiction of crimes—could not be pleaded as a defense.[57] This rule as regards criminal libel was changed in England by Lord Campbell's Act, 6 and 7 Victoria, Chapter 96, and the provision in the Illinois Constitution of 1818 expresses in other terms the general form of the change in law admitting truth as a defense when published with good motives and for justifiable ends.

As regards the function of the jury in trials for libel, the common law rule in civil actions left it to the jury, if the words published were ambiguous, to decide whether or not they were libellous, that is, to pass on both the law and the fact. The same doctrine was asserted in several early cases as regards criminal prosecutions for libel, but was subsequently greatly controverted, and was certainly an anomolous one in the criminal law.[58] But by the Fox Act of 1774 the jury was permitted to render a verdict of guilty or not guilty upon the whole matter in issue, and thus act as judges both of the law and the fact in criminal prosecutions also. The provisions in the Illinois Constitution, therefore, adopted the later statutory rule in both of these regards as guaranteeing fundamental rights as had also previously been done in six other constitutions of that time. The Constitution of 1848 and the proposed Constitution of 1862, both contained the above provisions without the slightest change.

In the present Constitution of Illinois, the truth when published with good motives and for justifiable ends was made a sufficient defense in both civil and criminal trials, re-affirming the former provision as to criminal trials, and also placing the defendant in a civil suit under the same constitutional protection. By 1870 the great majority of the other states had inserted a constitutional provision like that in the Illinois Constitution of either 1848 or 1870. In the convention of 1869, the newspapers of the State sought still further protection through a petition requesting an addition to the provision as to libel to the effect that "it shall in all cases be incumbent upon the plaintiff to prove malice," a change in the common law rule which might have proved a most undesirable piece of constitutional legislation and which was wisely rejected.[59]

The provisions of the American Bills of Rights on the liberty of the press have been quite generally considered to mean only that liberty of

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[57] Chase's Blackstone, Book III Cap. VI.
[58] Chase's Blackstone, Book III Cap. VI.
[59] At common law malice was conclusively inferred from the falsity and defamatory nature of the charge, unless the defendant established privilege of communication. Chase's Blackstone, p. 683.

publication without the previous permission of the government which was obtained by the abolition of the censorship, and not to change the common law rules as to responsibility for libel. But Cooley considers it to include "not only liberty to publish, but complete immunity from legal censure and punishment for the publication so long as it is not harmful in character when tested by the common law standards in force when the constitutional guarantees were established and in reference to which they have been adopted."[60] In other words the phrase "being responsible for the abuse of that liberty" means subject to the common law liability for defamation.

SEC. 5.[61] Of the concrete rights to which the colonists by reason of their English descent laid claim, no longer as English subjects, however, but as individuals in a state, one of the most precious and essential was the right of trial by jury. This ancient bulwark of English individual liberty whose origin, according to Blackstone is to be sought as far back as the Saxon Colonies, though not firmly established until the abolition of the Saxon trials by ordeal, and the Norman trial by battle, was first formally declared by Magna Charta of King John in 1215 in the king's solemn agreement that no freeman should be hurt in either his person or property, "unless by the legal judgment of his peers or the law of the land." The chief grievance in the Petition of Right of 1628 was the violation of this provision, and among the oppressions of King George III enumerated in the Declaration of Independence was that of depriving the colonists in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury. Small wonder, therefore, that every one of the constitutions of the revolutionary period contained express guarantees of jury trial, a precedent of constitutional practice which has persisted down to the latest constitutions at least as regards criminal prosecutions for major offenses.[62] Jury trial was also expressly protected in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787.

The Illinois Constitution of 1818 contained the simple provision that the right of trial by jury should remain inviolate, but in the Constitution of 1848 there was added the stipulation that it should extend to all cases at law, without regard to the amount in controversy, a provision not found in any other state constitutions, in a number of which, indeed, there were mentioned express exceptions to the general requirement of jury trial.

The present Constitution, though declaring that the right of trial by jury, *as heretofore enjoyed*, should remain inviolate adds that the trial of civil cases before justices of the peace by a jury of less than twelve men, might be authorized by law, which is a direct reversal of the provision in the Constitution of 1848, and had already been embodied in the proposed Constitution of 1862. This proviso might, it seems, be regarded as one manifestation of a growing conviction that the sacred and time-honored trial by jury, however worthy of esteem and respect by reason of its important role in the history of individual liberty in the past, is not altogether above criticism and that whether by reason of changed external conditions, or because of the manner in which it has come to be administered, the system of trial by jury demands substantial revision to keep it from becoming more and more a clog in the wheels of justice. Considerable evidence of this feeling was found in various motions relating to jury trial introduced in the convention of 1869;[63] one of which proposed to add that a concurrence of three-fourths of a jury should in all cases constitute a verdict. Several other less radical modifications were offered, but one proposal went so far as to authorize juries to return a verdict of "not proven," after which the defendant might again be indicted for the same offence upon additional evidence being discovered.

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[60] Cooley "Constitutional Limitations," p. 695.

[61] "The right of trial by jury, as heretofore enjoyed, shall remain inviolate, but the trial of civil cases before justices of the peace, by a jury of less than twelve men may be authorized by law." Constitution of Illinois, 1870, Art. II, Sec. 5.

[62] It is somewhat remarkable that in spite of the reverence of the English for the jury trial, and the great emphasis placed upon it by Blackstone and others who considered it a right of vital importance, first firmly established as a constitutional principle of English jurisprudence, by the Great Charter, the United States Supreme Court should have declared that it is no part of "due process" as guaranteed by Amendment XIV of the Federal Constitution. *Walker* v. *Sauvinet*, 92 U. S. 90.

[63] Debates of Convention of 1869, pp. 1567-1568.

The guarantee of jury trial "as heretofore enjoyed," means not as enjoyed in 1869 by statute, but as enjoyed by the common law of England. This means that in case of a person charged with felony, "a jury of twelve men must be impanelled. The jury must be indifferent between the prisoner and the people, they must be summoned from the vicinage or body of the county in which the crime was alleged to have been committed. They must unanimously concur in the verdict, and the court cannot interfere to coerce them to agree upon a verdict against their convictions."[64] This right to trial by jury cannot be waived in case of felony except by plea of guilty,[65] but in cases of misdemeanor the defendant may put himself upon the court for trial.[66] This guarantee extending only to cases in which jury trial was required at common law does not extend to cases of contempt proceedings, equity proceedings, statutory proceedings not known to the common law, eminent domain proceedings, etc., in which the common law procedure was not applied.[67]

SEC. 6.[68] At common law the citizen was protected against seizure of person or property by very strict rules regarding the issuing of warrants, and immunity in his home against unreasonable searches and seizures was embodied in the maxim that "every man's house is his castle." The desire of the colonists to protect these rights by constitutional provisions is traceable to the abuse of executive authority in England in violating these rights in order to obtain evidence of political offenses, which practice was finally overthrown in 1765 by Lord Camden.[69]

The practice of issuing writs of assistance to the revenue officers, authorizing them to search suspected places at their discretion, had caused great dissatisfaction in the American colonies ten years before this date and had been denounced by Otis as "the worst instrument of arbitrary power, the most destructive of English liberty and the fundamental principles of law that ever was found in an English law book."[70] This prohibition of general warrants has been characterized as the only constitutional principle to be first established in America and later adopted in England.[71]

The Virginia Bill of Rights of 1776 had contained an express prohibition on general warrants of search and seizure, which was incorporated in the Constitution of Illinois in 1818, following the declaration that the people should be secure in their persons, houses, papers and possessions from unreasonable searches and seizures. Almost all of the other constitutions of 1818 contained similar provisions, and this section in the constitution of 1818 was retained without change in the constitution of 1848, at which time all but four of the twenty-eight other constitutions embodied similar provisions.

There was no alteration of this section in the Constitution of 1862, but the convention of 1869 changed the phraseology somewhat by adopting almost verbatim the form of the fourth amendment to the Federal Constitution. At the time of framing our present Constitution there was one state constitution only which did not contain a similar provision, viz: New York, which still continued under the constitution in force in 1848, when the prior Illinois Constitution was adopted.

The purpose of this constitutional prohibition was to establish the common law rule as to searches and seizures which had always been extremely jealous of the right of the individual to immunity from such interference with his person and property. Unreasonable searches and seizures are those without warrant properly obtained in cases where the common law required

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[64] *George* v. *People*, 167 Ill. 447 (1897).
[65] *Morgan* v. *People*, 136 Ill. 161.
[66] *Darst* v. *People*, 51 Ill. 286 (1869).
[67] 184 Ill., 47; 173 Ill., 144; 103 Ill., 367; 23 Ill., 202.
[68] "The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrant shall issue without probable cause, supported by affidavit, particularly describing the place to be searched and the persons or things to be seized.
[69] Cooley, "Constitutional Limitations," pp. 424 ff.
[70] Cooley, "Constitutional Limitations," pp. 424 ff.
[71] Stimson "Federal and State Constitutions of the United States," p. 149 n. 10.

them. But arrests without warrant are not abridged by the Constitution where such arrests could be made at common law before its adoption.[72] Probable cause must be shown by the production of evidence satisfactory to the court of such facts as to satisfy the magistrate that the suspicion is well founded,[73] and, to justify the issuing of a warrant the affidavit must state either that the person therein described committed the offense or that the person making the complaint has just and reasonable grounds to suspect, or does in fact suspect that he is guilty of the offense.[74]

SEC. 7.[75] The provision that all persons shall be bailable by sufficient sureties except for capital offenses where the proof is evident or the presumption great represents in effect the common law rule of England as to bail.[76] Since by the concept of the common law every man was regarded innocent until proved guilty, it followed also that every man was to be treated with all possible leniency even after arrest for crimes and that confinement in jail should not be resorted to if the appearance of the accused for trial could be assured in some other way. Hence at common law every man was entitled to be released on bail before conviction upon sufficient sureties, except for capital offenses on charges based on more than a mere suspicion, when indeed the public welfare demanded the highest surety viz., the custody of the accused himself.

Though the first American Bill of Rights contained no express guarantee of the right to bail, it was impliedly guaranteed in the prohibition against requiring excessive bail, which had been forbidden in England by Statute 1 W. 2 M. 2, Chapter 1, and in the Northwest Ordinance it had been declared that all persons shall be bailable unless for capital offences where the proof is evident or the presumption great.

The first Illinois Constitution guaranteed the right to bail in the terms which have been retained in all three of the later Constitutions.[77] About one-half of the constitutions then in force contained similar express guarantees of the right to bail and most of the others impliedly guaranteed it by such provisions as the ones adopted in the Virginia Bill of Rights.

Closely connected with the guarantee of bail is the guarantee of the writ of *habeas corpus*, which was another common law right of English subjects and was re-affirmed in the Habeas Corpus Act of 1679.[78] This writ which secured to the individual a hearing as to the legality of his imprisonment and which was, and is, characteristic of the English law alone,[79] was regarded as one of the most important of individual rights, and the Habeas Corpus Act as the "second Magna Charta and stable bulwark of liberties."

In England the privilege of this writ could legally be suspended in cases of evident public necessity, but only upon authority given by Parliament to the Crown. The possibility of such an exigency was provided for in the first Illinois Constitution by the provision qualifying the prohibition of suspending the writ viz., "unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it."

In the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 the inhabitants of the Territory had been declared to be always entitled to the benefits of the writ of *habeas corpus* and provisions were found in 1818 in over-half of the other State constitutions, similar to the one in the first Illinois Constitution which was retained without change in the subsequent Constitutions of the State.

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[72] *North* v. *People*, 139 Ill. 81 (1891).
[73] *White* v. *Wagar*, 185 Ill. 195.
[74] *Housh* v. *People*, 75 Ill. 487 (1874).
[75] "All persons shall be bailable by sufficient sureties, except for capital offenses, where the proof is evident or the presumption great; and the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it." Constitution of Illinois, 1870, Art. II, Sec. 7.
[76] Chase's Blackstone, p. 1001.
[77] Illinois is the only State that has no prohibition on excessive bail. Stimson, *supra* p. 105
[78] Stubbs "Select Charters, etc.," p. 517.
[79] "There is on the continent nothing corresponding to the constitutional right of any individual when arrested by an officer of the government to demand instant information of the cause of his arrest and to be set at large unless indicted by a grand jury for a crime not bailable or for which the person accused is unable to give satisfactory bail." Stimson "Federal and State Constitutions," p. 18.

SEC. 8.[80] The right to indictment by grand jury, that is, formal accusation by a body of from twelve to twenty-three sworn men of the county extends even farther back in English criminal procedure than does the right to trial by petit jury and has been traced to the Hundred Courts of Aethelred.[81] At common law, indictments or presentments by grand jury were employed in all cases, though for misdemeanors the method of accusation by information was used as well, especially in cases of misdemeanors that tended to disturb or endanger the government. But this species of proceeding was looked upon with great disfavor in England because of its abuse in the times preceding the revolution and was later regulated by statute.[82] In America also this accusation by information was very unpopular, though only one of the revolutionary constitutions, viz., North Carolina, 1776, contained any other guarantee of indictment by grand jury than that contained in the provision establishing the English common law as the law of the states.

When, however, the first Constitution of Illinois came to be framed, the Federal Constitution had expressly guaranteed the right to indictment and seven other states had followed this precedent in their constitutions. The Illinois Constitution of 1818 provided that no indictable offense should be proceeded against criminally by information, a principle that went beyond the common law rule which recognized some kinds of offenses that could be proceeded against by either indictment or information. The exceptions recognized in the Constitution of 1818 were the same as existed at common law, namely trial by court martial and by impeachment, to which proceedings the requirement of grand jury indictment never applied.

In the Constitution of 1848 indictment or presentment of a grand jury was required for all offences punished with imprisonment or death or fine above one hundred dollars, except in cases of impeachment or cases arising in the army or navy or in the militia when in actual service in time of war and public danger. Similar provisions existed at that time in all but eight of the state constitutions, and of these eight, six were still the early constitutions adopted before the first Illinois Constitution. Of the two others, one was that of the civil law state of Louisiana, and the other was that of Virginia which had retained its original Bill of Rights of 1776 in its second constitution.

It appears, therefore, that the indictment by grand jury came to have growing importance in the American Bills of Rights in the thirty years between the framing of the first and second Illinois Constitution, and in the proposed Constitution of Illinois of 1862 there was embodied the same guarantee.

But in the Illinois Convention of 1869 there was evidenced considerable opposition to the grand jury system. Some motions suggested a reduction in the total number of grand jurymen, or in the number required for a finding, and some advocated the abolition of the grand jury with power in the legislature to re-establish it while others, more extreme, went to the length of demanding complete abolition.[83] Several speeches in strong denunciation of the evils of the grand jury system were delivered while others as warmly defended it.[84] The agitation terminated finally in the proviso now found in section eight to the effect that the grand jury may be abolished by law in all cases, leaving the advisability of abolishing this ancient system to be determined by the legislature, which that body in the forty years since the authority was conferred upon it has not seen fit to do.[85] It is interesting to

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[80] "No person shall be held to answer for a criminal offence, unless on indictment of a grand jury except in cases in which the punishment is by fine or imprisonment otherwise than in the penitentiary, in cases of impeachment and in cases arising in the army or navy or in the militia when in actual service in time of public war or danger: *Provided*, that the grand jury may be abolished in all cases." Constitution of Illinois, 1870, Art. II, Sec. 8.

[81] Stimson "Federal and State Constitutions," p. 169n.

[82] Chase's Blackstone Cap. XXI.

[83] Debates of the Convention of 1869, p. 174.

[84] Ibid pp. 1434-1438, 1440-1442.

[85] Recent evidence of continued opposition to the grand jury system is furnished by the introduction into the two last sessions of the Illinois Legislature of bills to abolish the system.

note that of the twenty-four state constitutions which in 1870 expressly guaranteed indictment by grand jury, Illinois was the only one that permitted it to be abolished by the legislature, although Indiana, which however, had not expressly protected it, had in 1851 adopted a similar provision.[86]

In Illinois under the present Constitution, what was practically the common law rule as to grand jury indictment is confirmed. Indictment is essential to the legal prosecution of persons charged with crime punishable by penitentiary imprisonment,[87] and where conviction would result in disqualification to hold public office,[88] but not to hold persons to answer for misdemeanors.[89] The proviso at the end of the section virtually authorizes the legislature to change a constitutional provision, but that its effect is not, as might at first appear to be the case, to nullify the force of the whole section would seem to be shown by the reluctance evidenced by the subsequent legislatures of this state to alter a system which the constitution of the state evidently wished to favor.

SEC. 9.[90] The rights of the accused in criminal prosecutions guaranteed by this section, were for the most part rights to which English subjects were entitled by the common law and which were considered essential attributes of personal liberty and security. So at common law an indictment could not be tried unless the defendant personally appeared. So also the defendant was entitled to the assistance of counsel as to the matters of law arising on the trial. As to other matters the defendant was not entitled to counsel on the principle that the judge should be counsel for the prisoner and see that the proceedings against him were legal and strictly regular. But Blackstone rightly speaks of this latter rule as "not at all of a piece with the rest of the humane treatment of prisoners by the English law" and states that the judges never scrupled to allow a prisoner the assistance of counsel to instruct him what questions to ask or even to ask questions for him, with respect to matters of fact.[91]

When the prisoner was arraigned, the indictment which contained, in great detail all matters bearing on the accusation was read to him that he might fully understand his charge, which was all that was necessary at a time when the general inability to read, especially among the criminal classes, made a requirement of a copy for the defendant superfluous.

The right to meet the witnesses for the prosecution, and to question them was also a common law right, though the defendant had no right by the early rule to introduce witnesses in his own behalf in capital cases.[92] But by Statute 1, Ann. 2, Ch. 9 it was declared that in all cases of treason and felony all witnesses for the prisoner should be examined upon oath in like manner as the witnesses against him. Finally the right to a trial by a jury of the county where the fact was committed was also recognized by the common law and insisted upon as one of the greatest protections for the accused, based on the early theory that the jurors were witnesses, and themselves cognizant of the commission or non-commission in their midst of the act charged.

The Virginia Bill of Rights enumerated substantially all of these rights of the accused and all but three[93] of the Constitutions in force when Illinois became a state contained express provisions of a similar nature. The first Constitution of Illinois declared the rights of the accused in practically the

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[86] Constitution of Indiana, 1851, Art. VII, Sec. 17.
[87] *Paulsen* v. *People*, 195 Ill. 507 (1902).
[88] *People* v. *Ripley*, 171 Ill. 44 (1897).
[89] *Brewster* v. *People*, 183 Ill. 143 (1899).
[90] "In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall have the right to appear and defend in person and by counsel; to demand the nature and cause of the accusation and to have a copy thereof; to meet the witnesses face to face, and to have process to compel the attendance of witnesses in his behalf and a speedy public trial by an impartial jury of the county or district in which the offense is alleged to have been committed." Constitution of Illinois, 1870, Art. II Sec. 9.
[91] Chase's Blackstone, p. 1025.
[92] Chase's Blackstone, p. 1028.
[93] Ga. 1798, N. J. 1776, S. C. 1776.

same terms found in the present Constitution, and no material change was made in the second Constitution. The right of defendant to compel the attendance of witnesses in his favor had been protected in two-thirds of the Constitutions then in force. The present Constitution contains the additional provision that the accused have the right to a copy of the accusation, a right guaranteed in nine other constitutions in force in 1870. In the convention of 1869 it was suggested to guarantee to the defendant the right to have his counsel close the argument to the jury, and also to make non-free-holders incompetent as jurors if objected to on that ground, but otherwise no changes in the provisions of the former constitutions were proposed.

The provisions of the present Constitution, like the requirements of the common law in this respect, refer only to *nisi prius* trials, that is not to appeals or other proceedings of review in higher courts.[94] The presence of the accused though essential in cases of felony is not necessary at the trial of mere misdemeanors,[95] and may in this latter case be waived by him.

The right to appear by counsel includes the right to have one's counsel allowed a reasonable time for argument.[96]

The purpose of requiring a copy of the accusation is to secure such specific designation of the offence charged as to enable the defendant to prepare fully for his defences and to plead the judgment in bar of a subsequent prosecution for the same offence.[97]

The right to meet the witnesses face to face excludes all evidence by deposition in criminal trials, with the single exception of dying declarations.[98]

The right to a speedy trial guarantees against arbitrary and oppressive delays only, not such as are due to congestion of cases on the docket,[99] and the requirement of a public trial is not violated when the doors of the court room are closed for a temporary purpose during the trial of a criminal case if not for the purpose of excluding anyone connected with the trial.[100] The guarantee of an impartial jury means a jury impartial in the sense in which that term was understood at common law,[101] that is, chosen under the safeguards with which the common law surrounded the choice of jurors.[102] Finally the requirement of a jury of the county or district may be waived by the defendant by asking a change of venue.[103]

Sec. 10.[104] In the same category with the rights of the accused protected in the preceding section is the freedom from self-incrimination and from double jeopardy, which was also carefully protected by the rules of the common law. Firstly, it was an established rule of evidence at common law that confessions were not admissible as evidence unless they were freely given without fear of harm or hope of favor and a confession obtained by compulsion, though used when the trial by ordeal and other inquisitorial trials were still in force was not admissible in the latter common law prosecution of crimes. Says Cooley:[105] "A peculiar excellence of the common law system of trial consists in the fact that the accused is never compelled to give evidence against himself."

So also of the protection against double jeopardy, Blackstone says:[106] "It is a universal maxim of the common law of England that no man is to be

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[94] *Fielden* v. *People*, 128 Ill. 595 (1889).
[95] *Bloomington* v. *Heiland*, 67 Ill. 278 (1873).
[96] *White* v. *People*, 90 Ill. 117 (1878).
[97] *West* v. *People*, 137 Ill. 189 (1891).
[98] *Starkey* v. *People*, 17 Ill. 17 (1855).
[99] *Weyrich* v. *People*, 89 Ill. 90 (1878).
[100] *Stone* v. *People*, 3 Ill. 326 (1840).
[101] *Coughlin* v. *People*, 144 Ill. 140 (1893).
[102] See Chase's Blackstone Cap. XXV.
[103] *Weyrich* v. *People*, 89 Ill. 90 (1878).
[104] "No person shall be compelled in any criminal case to give evidence against himself or be twice put in jeopardy for the same offense," Constitution of Illinois, Art. II Sec. 10.
[105] "Constitutional Limitations." Cap. X 442.
[106] Chase's Blackstone, p. 1019.

brought into jeopardy of his life more than once for the same offence," and in every case the defendant might plead former jeopardy in bar of the accusation.

The guarantee against being compelled to give evidence against oneself was put into the Virginia Bill of Rights and into all but four of the other constitutions in force prior to 1818, including the Federal Constitution. But the protection against double jeopardy was found in only one-half of those same constitutions, not having been inserted into the prototype of the early Bills of Rights. In the first Illinois Constitution both of these provisions were embodied and they have remained in the same terms down to the present Constitution, being adopted by the convention from the former constitutions without comment. Both guarantees existed in almost all the other Constitutions in force in 1870.

The constitutional protection against self-incrimination means that, neither a witness nor the defendant in a criminal case need answer any question the answer to which will expose him to any penalty, fine, forfeiture or punishment, or which will have a tendency to accuse him of any crime or misdemeanor or to expose him to any penalty or forfeiture or which would be a link in a chain of evidence to convict him of a criminal offense.[107] But this privilege is personal to the witness and he may waive it without consent of the defendant.[108] Furthermore, this constitutional privilege cannot be claimed if by reason of an immunity statute the evidence obtained under compulsion can in no way be used as a basis in aid of a prosecution which might result in fine, imprisonment, penalty or forfeiture.[109]

The protection against double jeopardy means that no person shall twice be put in peril of conviction for the same act and offense,[110] and whether two indictments are for the same offense must be determined by an inspection and comparison of the indictments.[111] If the facts charged in the second indictment would have sustained conviction under the first indictment, the plea of former jeopardy is good,[112] but where the facts charged in the second indictment would not, if proved, have warranted conviction under the first, the plea of former jeopardy cannot be maintained.[113]

The verdict forms a bar to subsequent prosecution for the same offense though there is no judgment on it,[114] but where judgment of conviction is arrested or reversed at the instance of the accused he will not in legal contemplation have been in jeopardy, but may again be put on trial for the same offense.[115] So also if the jury is discharged in case of disagreement, the former jeopardy will not be available as a plea to a new trial.[116]

When the same act constitutes several offenses, trial and punishment for one will be no bar to a prosecution for the others growing out of the same transaction,[117] as where one single act violates a local ordinance, a state's law and a law of the United States there are three distinct offenses and punishable as such. Similarly in case of an act which is both a contempt of court and an indictable crime, the indictment and the proceeding for contempt are entirely distinct and neither will be a bar to the other.[118]

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[107] *Lamson* v. *Boydeen*, 160 Ill. 613 (1896).
[108] *Samuel* v. *People*, 164 Ill. 379 (1897).
[109] *People* v. *Butler St. Foundry*, 201 Ill. 236 (1903).
The immunity clause in the act here in question was as follows: "*Provided*, that no corporation, etc.....shall be subject to any criminal prosecution by reason of anything truthfully disclosed in any testimony elicited in the execution thereof." 201 Ill., p. 243.
[110] *Freeland* v. *People*, 16 Ill. 380 (1855).
[111] *Durham* v. *People*, 5 Ill. 172 (1843).
[112] Ibid.
[113] *Guedel* v. *People*, 43 Ill. 226 (1867).
[114] *Hankins* v. *People*, 106 Ill. 628 (1883).
[115] *Gerhard* v. *People*, 4 Ill. 362 (1842).
[116] *Dryer* v. *People*, 188 Ill. 40 (1900).
[117] *Trausch* v. *Cook Co.*, 147 Ill. 534 (1893).
[118] *Beattie* v. *People*, 33 Ill. App. 651 (1889).

SEC. 11.[119] Of the three provisions in the next section, the first one, requiring that all penalties shall be proportioned to the nature of the offence, can be found in England as early as Magna Charta where it is declared that "a freeman shall not be amerced for a small offence, but according to the degree of the fault and for a great crime in proportion to the heinousness of it.[120] The spirit of this prohibition was expressed in the early American constitutions either by a provision like that in the English Bill of Rights against excessive fines and cruel and unusual punishment,[121] found in the Virginia Bill of Rights and in the Federal Constitution, or by a requirement that all penalties shall be proportioned to the nature of the offence, as in the Illinois Constitution of 1818. In one of these two forms this early provision of Magna Charta existed in over half the constitutions in force in 1818 and Article V of the Northwest Ordinance had provided that "all fines shall be moderate and no cruel or unusual punishments shall be inflicted."

The second provision, to the effect that no conviction should work corruption of blood, or forfeiture of estate, is directed against the common law rule that descent could not be traced through a person convicted of treason or felony, and that his real and personal property were, therefore, forfeited, the former to the lord of the fee, the latter to the king. These incidents of treason and felony prevailed from the earliest time, and had their source in the feudal theory that property, especially realty was held of a superior lord upon the condition of discharging duties attaching to it, and was forfeited by breach of these conditions.[122]

This prohibition was not found in the earliest Bill of Rights nor in the Federal Constitution, and when the first Illinois Constitution was framed, only three other constitutions contained the prohibition exactly, though four others contained it in modified form.

The last provision in this section forbidding deportation for crime committed within the State was necessitated by the English statutes just prior to the American Revolution, making deportation a substantive punishment. The punishment was unknown at common law, and in 1679 the Habeas Corpus Act had forbidden the deportation of English subjects as prisoners out of the kingdom.[123] It was introduced as a condition of pardon in case of crimes excluded from clergy[124] and by reason of statutes passed in the XVIIIth century, had become part of the law of the colonies upon their separation from England. This provision was, however, very rare in the early constitutions and in 1818 only three of the eighteen then existing state constitutions contained such a prohibition.[125]

All three of the above provisions were adopted in the Constitution of 1848, though the Committee on the Bill of Rights omitted all mention of the first two in its report. In the Constitution of 1870 these same stipulations were retained without change, though it was suggested among other changes to add that the death penalty should never be inflicted.[126]

The question whether the imposition in a particular instance of a punishment, though authorized by the legislature, violates the requirement that penalties shall be proportioned to the nature of the offence, is of course, left to the discretion of the court. But it is a discretion to be judicially exercised

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[119] "All penalties shall be proportioned to the nature of the offense, and no conviction shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture of estate; nor shall any person be transported out of the State for any offense committed within the same." Constitution of Illinois, 1870, Art. II Sec. 11.

[120] Magna Charta, Cap. 20 Stubbs "Select Charters," p. 299.

[121] This prohibition had already been anticipated in the Massachusetts Body of Liberties, clauses 42, 45 and 46. Stinson "Federal and State Constitutions," p. 22.

[122] Stephen "History of the Criminal Law of England." V. I, p. 487.

[123] Stubbs "Select Charters," p. 52.

[124] Stephen, *supra*, pp. 480, 487.

[125] Mississippi, 1817; Ohio, 1802; Vermont, 1793.

[126] Debates of Convention of 1869, p. —.

and there may be cases in which a punishment, though within the limits, fixed by a statute is so clearly excessive as to be in violation of this constitutional requirement.[127]

But whether the penalty imposed by statute on a crime is excessive *per se*, is a matter primarily for legislative discretion. When the legislature has authorized a designated punishment for a specified crime, the court will not hold it invalid, unless it is a cruel or degrading punishment not known to the common law or a degrading punishment which had become obsolete in the state prior to the adoption of its constitution or is so wholly disproportioned to the offence as to shock the moral sense of the community.[128]

An Act imposing the forfeiture of all franchises of a corporation as a penalty for any violation of the prohibition of the act on discriminating freight rates was held to contravene this provision of the constitution.[129] But providing an increased penalty for a second offence is not imposing a disproportionate penalty, for repetition of the offence aggravates the guilt.[130]

SEC. 12.[131] Imprisonment for debt was one of the great defects of the common law from the earliest times until well into the nineteenth century in England, and existed in most of the American colonies for many years, though somewhat mitigated by insolvent laws. But the absurdity and injustice of imprisoning honest debtors was pretty generally realized by 1776, when the first American constitutions were being framed, and seven of the state constitutions in force when Illinois became a state embodied a prohibition against imprisonment for debt in the absence of fraud as one of the guarantees of individual liberty.[132] The Constitution of 1848 and the proposed Constitution of 1862 retained this provision from the earliest constitution, and no change was made in the section when adopted into the present Illinois Constitution.

This constitutional guarantee is confined to actions upon contracts, express or implied, and does not apply to liabilities for torts[133] nor to fines or penalties arising from a violation of the penal laws of the State,[134] and a court cannot commit for contempt in not obeying a decree to pay money unless the refusal is willful and not caused by financial inability.[135]

SEC. 13.[136] The right of eminent domain, that is, the power of the State to appropriate to its own use private property of its citizens needed for public purposes, is inherent in sovereignty and is as old as government itself. In early times, moreover, the duty of the state to compensate the individual for property so taken, was not recognized, and even in England private property was frequently taken for the use of the crown without compensation.[137] But Blackstone in discussing the limitations on the absolute right of private property declares that the legislature alone can act in the exercise of the power of eminent domain and that only by giving the individual so deprived, a full indemnification and equivalent for the injury thereby sustained.[138] Eminent domain differs from taxation, in that in the former case the citizen is compelled to surrender to the public something beyond his due

[127] Cooley "Constitutional Limitations," p. 471.
[128] *People* v. *Illinois State Reformatory,* 148 Ill. 413 (1894).
[129] *C. & A. R. R. Co.* v. *People,* 67 Ill. 11 (1873).
[130] *Kelly* v. *People,* 115 Ill. 583 (1886).
[131] "No person shall be imprisoned for debt unless upon refusal to deliver up his estate for the benefit of his creditors in such manner as shall be prescribed by law or in cases where there is strong presumption of fraud." Constitution of Illinois, 1870, Article II, Sec. 12.
[132] This principle had already been embodied in the Massachusetts Body of Liberties, 1641, in the provision that no man should be imprisoned for debt if the law could find competent means of satisfaction otherwise from his estate. Stimson "Federal and State Constitutions," p. 23.
[133] *Rich* v. *People,* 66 Ill. 513 (1873).
[134] *Kennedy* v. *People,* 122 Ill. 649 (1887).
[135] *Blake* v. *People,* 80 Ill. 11 (1875).
[136] "Private property shall not be taken or damaged for public use without just compensation. Such compensation, when not made by the State shall be ascertained by a jury, as shall be prescribed by law. The fee of land taken for railroad tracks, without consent of the owners thereof shall remain in such owners subject to the use for which it is taken." Constitution of Illinois, 1870, Art. II, Sec. 13.
[137] White "Constitution of Pennsylvania," Cap. XXVI.
[138] Chase's Blackstone, p. 79.

proportion for the public benefit. It is a primary requisite, therefore, in the appropriation of lands for public purposes that compensation shall be made therefor.[139]

As this power of eminent domain does not depend upon constitutions but exists independently of them, inherent in sovereignty, no affirmative declaration of the power was requisite in the framing of our American constitutions. But to guard against abuse of the power by the sovereign through its agents, it was felt necessary to embody some limitations thereon in the fundamental law of the state. The Virginia Bill of Rights did not contain such a provision nor did any of the other constitutions of that year which were modeled after it. But the Northwest Ordinance had provided for compensation, and when Illinois came to frame a Constitution in 1818 one-half of the state constitutions then in force contained some limitation of the power of eminent domain.

In the first Illinois Constitution it was provided that no man's property should be taken or applied to public use, without the consent of his representatives in the General Assembly, nor without just compensation being made to him, which still showed the distrust of executive usurpation of power so strongly experienced by the American Colonists in 1776. In the first draft of the Illinois Constitution submitted to the convention it was provided that compensation should be *previously* made, which condition had not formerly been considered essential to the validity of the exercise of the power, at least by the State itself.[140]. But this suggestion was not at that time adopted.

No change was made in the provision regarding eminent domain in the Constitution of 1848, but important changes were made in the present Constitution of 1870. In the first place, while it had been the universal rule that the compensation awarded was to be measured by the value of the property taken and the direct injury to the owner from the loss, so that any proper exercise of the powers of government which did not directly encroach upon the property of an individual or disturb him in his possession or enjoyment would not entitle him to compensation, it was now, for the first time, in any state in the Union, provided that private property should not be taken *or damaged* for public use without just compensation.

This important innovation was not adopted without considerable discussion and some opposition in the convention of 1869, mainly on the ground that by departing from the settled rules relating to eminent domain there was no certainty as to where the courts might stop in the application of this new provision, resulting perhaps in making it impossible to carry out certain important public improvements because of the extent of damages to be paid to private owners. But this eminently just and reasonable provision was retained and has been copied in a number of the state constitutions adopted since that time.[141]

Another important change introduced in the Constitution of 1870 with respect to the right of eminent domain, was the provision as to the manner of ascertaining the compensation due. Under the former constitutions it was left with the legislature to fix the manner of determining such compensation. What the tribunal shall be which is to assess the compensation, must be determined either by the Constitution or by the Statute which provides for the appropriation, for the exercise of the right of eminent domain is not one where, as a matter of right, the party is entitled to trial by jury.[142]

But the proceeding being judicial in character, the party in interest is entitled to have an impartial tribunal and the usual rights and privileges which attend judicial investigations, and the Convention of 1869 felt that jury trial was the best manner of securing such impartial investigation, in cases where the right was not being exercised by the State itself.[143] It was first proposed to provide for an alternative body of three commissioners,

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[139] Cooley "Constitutional Limitations," p. 812.
[140] Cooley "Constitutional Limitations," p. 813.
[141] Cooley "Constitutional Limitations," p. 810.
[142] Cooley "Constitutional Limitations," p. 817.
[143] This provision was taken from the Constitution of New York, 1846, and was found elsewhere only in the constitutions of Iowa, 1857; Michigan, 1850; Ohio, 1851.

appointed by a court of record, to ascertain the compensation which was the method of assessing such compensation under existing statutes. But this provision was struck out of the committee report by the convention, many members of which were in favor of prescribing even more minutely the process to be followed in assessing compensation by a jury. It was again variously suggested to require compensation to be first made, and several resolutions were introduced with a view to prohibiting the deduction of benefits from the compensation to be awarded. This latter proposition aroused much discussion, being regarded by some as essential to a just exercise of the power of eminent domain, and by others as itself most unjust and unreasonable. The general expression of sentiment was, however, distinctly in favor of such a limitation and it was in fact adopted by the convention, but upon re-referment to the committee was finally omitted.[144]

Various other resolutions and motions relative to the right of eminent domain were introduced, there being more discussion of this section of the Bill of Rights than of any other, due principally to what were considered the abuses of this right by the public service corporations, especially the railroads which had of late been making such large use of the power. But the convention as a whole realized the wisdom of leaving the matter of detailed regulation of the power to the legislature, and rejected the more radical suggestions, one of which went so far as to provide that no man should be deprived of his property in any case against his consent.[145]

The provision that the fee of land taken for railroad tracks without the consent of the owners thereof should remain in such owners, subject to the use for which it is taken was also unique in the Constitution of Illinois. Its purpose was to prevent private property from being taken, and retained by Railroad Corporations and turned to other uses when no longer needed for the purpose for which it was taken.

It appears, therefore, from the Debates of the Convention that this whole question of the right of eminent domain and its manner of exercise was considered a question of fundamental importance which had not been satisfactorily dealt with in the past, and which required further action, but the diversity of views as to the changes to be made resulted in a great deal less radical alteration in the wording of this important section, than would have suited many members of the convention.

Since the right of eminent domain exists in every government, independently of constitutional grant, on the ground of necessity, no legislative bargain in restraint of the complete, continuous and repeated exercise of this right is valid or within the protection of the obligation of contracts in either the federal or state constitutions.[146]

Private property in this connection has been defined as that dominion or indefinite right of user and disposition which one may lawfully exercise over particular things or subjects generally, to the exclusion of others.[147] Every species of property which the public needs may require and which government cannot lawfully appropriate under any other right is subject to be seized and appropriated under the right of eminent domain, in fact legal and equitable rights of every description, except money or those rights in action which can only be available when made to produce money.[148]

Under the present Constitution not only the taking of private property but the damaging as well must be compensated for. Prior to the Constitution of 1870, recovery could be had only for direct physical injury to property as by overflowing it, depositing materials upon it, etc., and so interference with the ingress to and egress from property was not required to be compensated for. But under the new provision in this State compensation is to be allowed in all cases where but for some legislative enactment, an action would lie at common law for tort to property.[149]

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[144] Debates of Convention of 1869, pp. 1575 ff.
[145] Debates of Convention of 1869, p. 429.
[146] *Village of Hyde Park* v. *Cemetery Association*, 119 Ill. 141 (1886).
[147] *I. C. R. R. Co.* v. *Commissioners of Highways*, 161 Ill. 244 (1896).
[148] Cooley "Constitutional Limitations," pp. 756 ff.
[149] *Rigney* v. *Chicago*, 102 Ill. 64 (1882).

The question of what constitutes a public use, has frequently arisen in the courts, but no definite rule can be laid down. The necessity or the expediency of putting private property to a certain use, is a question wholly for the legislature, though the question whether such use is public or private, will be reviewed by the courts.[150] The ordinary functions of government are, of course, clearly a public use, but private undertakings may embody a public use as in the case of so-called public service or public utility corporations.[151]

The construction of drains, ditches and levees by land-owners for agricultural sanitary or mining purposes across the lands of others is especially authorized by constitutional provision,[152] subject to the conditions imposed on the exercise of the right of eminent domain. Sewerage and other works necessary for the abatement of public nuisances come within the meaning of a public use[153] whether constructed by public authorities or by private companies.

"Just compensation" means compensation to such amount as is under all the circumstances a fair and full equivalent for the thing taken[154] or a reimbursement for real, as distinguished from merely speculative damages.[155]

The requirement of a jury in this section embraces all the provisions of section 5 and permits therefore a jury of six to be authorized in trials before justices of the peace,[156] so also, the jury must be one in the selection of which the party in interest has had an opportunity to participate.[157]

In general, since the right of eminent domain, necessary and undisputed though it be is, nevertheless, a compulsion on the individual to sell his property, *nolens volens*, it must not be abused, and in its exercise the limitations prescribed by the Constitution should be strictly observed, and the statutes passed in pursuance thereof should be strictly complied with.[158]

SEC. 14.[159] *Ex post facto* laws, that is, retroactive criminal laws, were considered at common law also as cruel and unjust.[160] The principle that all laws should be made to commence *in futuro* was a fundamental principle of sound legislation in England and has been a basic doctrine of our American constitutional law from the very first. Retroactive laws, whether *ex post facto* law or laws impairing the obligation of contracts, that is, whether criminal or civil, were ever contrary to the spirit of our limitations under which life, liberty and property are most jealously safeguarded. The Virginia Bill of Rights, it is true, did not embody a prohibition on such laws, but the Northwest Ordinance had forbidden laws violating contract rights and the great majority of states had by 1818 adopted such provisions in their constitutions besides the provisions on this point in the United States constitutions.

The Federal Constitution, it must be remembered, not only forbids Congress to pass *ex post facto* laws, but expressly forbids the states also to pass either *ex post facto* laws or laws impairing the obligation of contracts. The insertion of these provisions—and the same was also true of the state guarantees of due process after the adoption of Amendment XIV of the Federal Constitution—into the first Constitution of Illinois could, therefore, be of effect only in broadening the protection which the interpretation of the federal provision by the United States courts might supply. That is, any state act which Federal Courts would consider contrary to either of these prohibitions as contained in the federal constitution would be wholly bad, whether or not the state courts might consider it as not violating the

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[150] *Dunham* v. *Village of Hyde Park*, 75 Ill. 371 (1874).
[151] *Chicago R. I. and Pac. R. R.* v. *Joliet*, 79 Ill. 25 (1875).
[152] Constitution of Illinois, 1870, Art. IV, Sec. 31.
[153] *Jacksonville* v. *Lambert*, 62 Ill. 519 (1872).
[154] *Phillips* v. *Town of Scales Mound*. 195 Ill. 353 (1902).
[155] *R. R. Co.* v. *City of Pontiac*, 169 Ill. 155 (1897).
[156] *McManus* v. *McDonough*, 107 Ill. 95 (1883).
[157] *W. R. R. Co.* v. *Drainage District*, 194 Ill. 310 (1902).
[158] *Ayer* v. *City of Chicago*, 149 Ill. 262 (1894).
[159] "No *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or making any irrevocable grant of special privileges or immunities, shall be passed." Constitution of Illinois, 1870, Art. II, Sec. 14.
[160] Chase's Blackstone, p. 10.

identical provision in the state constitution. On the other hand, however, a state act sustained by the federal courts as not contrary to these prohibitions in the federal constitution might still be invalidated by the state courts as violating their interpretation of the same words in the state constitution.

Both of these guarantees were, however, continued in the later Constitution of Illinois, and adopted into the Constitution of 1870 practically without discussion, being found at that time also in about two-thirds of the other state constitutions.

The prohibition on making any irrevocable grant of special privileges or immunities, was new in the present Constitution of Illinois. Very little discussion of this provision took place on the floor of the convention, notwithstanding that it could be found in only two other constitutions of that time.[161] The indiscriminate granting of valuable franchises in corporate charters, made it necessary, under the rule in the Dartmouth College case that such charters are contracts, to protect the public against corrupt or indifferent legislative bodies, by providing in the fundamental law of the state that such grants could not be irrecovably made.

In the convention of 1869 it was moved, with a view to remedying the mistakes of the past, as well as to providing protection in the future, that any amendment made to existing charters of corporations should subject them to future legislation, that is, withdraw them from the protection of this provision, but this motion was not reported out by the committee to which it was referred.

Ex post facto laws are defined in this state to be those by which, after an act indifferent in itself has been committed, the legislature declares it to have been a crime and makes it punishable,[163] or those which change punishments to the prejudice of defendant after the commission of the crime.[164]

The entire deprivation of a remedy on a contract, is a violation of the protection hereby guaranteed, but the modification or substitution of a remedy is not,[165] nor is the changing of the rules of evidence an impairment of a vested right.[166] Limitation laws are not bad, even if affecting existing rights, if a reasonable time is given for the assertion of the right before the bar takes effect.[167] The legislature may enact retrospective statutes to validate invalid contracts, or ratify acts which it might have authorized in the first place, if no vested rights will be infringed.[168]

Charters of private corporations are contracts under the Illinois Constitution,[169] as well as the under federal constitution, and are subject only to a reasonable exercise of the police power of the State,[170] that is, to the inherent inalienable right to make all reasonable regulations in the interests of public safety, welfare, health and comfort. So even exemption from taxation by charter is a contract binding on the state,[171] although the taxing power is a fundamental attribute of government.

Secs. 15 and 16.[171a] The necessity for having the military in subordination to the civil power, and the evils of any other relation between the two arms of government, had been early felt in England, and a formal demand remedying the abuses of the military power was embodied in the Petition of Right of

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[161] Kansas, 1857, Ohio, 1851.

[163] *Coles* v. *Madison Co.*, 1 Ill. 154 (1826).

[164] *Johnson* v. *People*, 173 Ill. 131 (1898).

The meaning and scope of the federal prohibition on the passage of *ex post facto* laws which is directed to the State Legislatures as well as to the National Congress was considered at length in the case of *Calder* v. *Bull*, 3 Dall. 386.

[165] *Newkirk* v. *Chapron*, 17 Ill. 344 (1856).

[166] *Roby* v. *Chicago*, 64 Ill. 447 (1872).

[167] *Bradley* v. *Lightcap*, 201 Ill. 511 (1903).

[168] *Scammon* v. *Commercial Co.*, 6 Ill. App., p. 551 (1880).

[169] *Bruffet* v. *Great Western R. R. Co.*, 25 Ill. 349 (1861).

[170] *Ruggles* v. *People*, 91 Ill. 256 (1878).

[171] *Ill. C. R. R.* v. *Goodwin*, 94 Ill. 262 (1880).

[171a] "The military shall be in strict subordination to the civil power. No soldier shall in time of peace be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war, except in the manner prescribed by law." Constitution of Illinois, 1870, Art. II, Secs. 15 and 16.

1628 to Charles I in which it was demanded that the soldiers and sailors, quartered on the inhabitants in times of peace, be removed, and that the proceedings by martial law instead of by civil law be suppressed.[172] Again in the Bill of Rights of 1689 Parliament expressly forbade the raising or keeping of a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace without its consent.[173]

In the period prior to the American Revolution, moreover, the colonists had suffered their own experience of the evils of having standing armies quartered upon them and interfering with the regular course of justice, and in the Declaration of Independence among the oppressions there described, were the keeping of standing armies in times of peace among the colonies without the consent of their legislatures, the quartering of large bodies of armed troops among them, and generally rendering the military independent of and superior to the civil power.

The Virginia Bill of Rights, therefore, embodied a provision forbidding standing armies in time of peace, and subordinating the military power to the civil power, in all cases, as did also most of the other revolutionary constitutions. Notwithstanding the fact that these provisions were very common at the time when the first Illinois Constitution was framed, no mention of them is contained in that document. But in the Constitution of 1848, following the precedent of all but three of the twenty-eight constitutions then in force, the section subordinating the military to the civil power was inserted, and the present prohibition against quartering soldiers, found also in almost as many of the other constitutions of the time was added.

Sec. 17.[174] Though the right of the people in a free government, peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for redress of grievances, is one which results from the very nature and structure of its institutions, it was nevertheless subjected to repeated attacks by the Crown in England. The right of petition, though now regarded as a simple, primitive and natural right, was even as late as the reign of James II sought to be denied in the famous trial of the seven bishops for having exercised this right, and therein finally vindicated by their acquittal.[175] The English Bill of Rights of 1689, therefore, after reciting the illegal prosecution of these petitioners to the crown, declares that it is the right of the subject to petition the king, and that all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.[176]

This right was generally expressly protected in the early American constitutions, though Story regards it as unnecessary to be expressly provided for,[177] and the earlier Constitution of Illinois guaranteed it in virtually the same terms as are now found in this section of the present Illinois Constitution.

Sec. 18.[178] The English Bill of Rights had declared that the election of members of Parliament ought to be free,[179] and this principle of free and equal elections was again expressly declared in the first American Bill of Rights about a century later. The early constitutions in this country pretty generally followed the example of Virginia in this regard, and when in 1818 Illinois expressly guaranteed the freedom and equality of elections, she adopted the practice prevailing in more than half of the existing state constitutions.

The provision as found in the early Illinois constitution was retained verbatim, both in the constitution of 1848 and in the present constitution of 1870. Just what practical effect would be given to this section by the Illinois courts does not appear, but its general purpose, undoubtedly, is to

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[172] Stubbs "Select Charters," p. 516. Petition of Right, Cap. X.
[173] *Ibid.*, p. 524. Bill of Rights, clause 6.
[174] "The people have the right to assemble in a peaceable manner to consult for the common good, to make known their opinions to their representatives, and to apply for redress of grievances." Constitution of Illinois, 1870, Art. II, Sec. 17.
[175] Cooley "Constitutional Limitations," p. 497.
[176] Stubbs "Select Charters," p. 623.
[177] Story on the Constitution, Sec. 1894.
[178] "All elections shall be free and equal." Constitution of Illinois, 1870, Art. II, Sec. 18.
[179] Stubbs "Select Charters," p. 525.

keep every election free of all influences and surroundings which might bear improperly upon it, or might impel the electors to cast their votes otherwise than as their judgments would dictate.[180]

SEC. 19.[181] This general declaration of the protection which should be found in the law is practically an epitome of the theory of the common law, and was formulated in substance as early as the XIIIth century, in the Great Charter of English Liberties.[182] Chapter XL of Magna Charta of King John declares "we will sell to no man, we will deny no man, or defer right or justice," asserting a principle which has remained fundamental in the English law from that time to the present, and which had been guaranteed in over half the state constitutions in force when Illinois was admitted to the Union.

The statement of this principle in the first Illinois constitution was adopted without substantial change in both of the later constitutions of Illinois and stands in our present constitution little different from its first annunciation seven centuries ago.

Under this provision of the constitution every man has the right to call upon the courts to protect him in his property, person and reputation without reference to whether other persons are also suffering from the same cause.[183]

The right of an elector to have the person who has been lawfully elected established in his office is not a right the violation of which is an injury to his person, property or reputation within this provision of the constitution, and cannot therefore be enforced through the courts, in absence of a statute conferring such jurisdiction on them.[184]

A state requiring a plaintiff to show that he has paid all taxes, due and assessed on a lot before he can question the validity of a tax title is repugnant to this provision of the constitution, in that it compels him to buy justice.[185]

SEC. 20.[186] As a fitting conclusion to the foregoing enumeration of the fundamental principles of government, is added this declaration of the necessity of a frequent recurrence to these principles for preserving the blessings of liberty. Similar declarations were found in six of the early state constitutions and in the first constitution of Illinois, from which the provision was continued without change in the subsequent constitutions of the state.

Such, then, are the principles, in their origin, development and application which now stand as part of the fundamental law of this commonwealth; the resultants of a large number of factors of varying influence and importance. The manifest qualities of the common law, its no less apparent defects, the doctrines of political theorists, the necessities of political exigencies, ancient constitutional principles and modern political developments, each played some part in formulating the body of declarations contained in the present Bill of Rights; an enumeration of individual rights, on the one hand comprehensive enough to provide an adequate guarantee of personal liberty, without, on the other hand, entering into undue philosophical speculation or unwise legislative detail.

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[180] Cooley "Constitutional Limitations," p. 922.

[181] "Every person ought to find a certain remedy in the laws, for all injuries and wrongs which he may receive in his person, property or reputation; he ought to obtain by law, right and justice freely and without being obliged to purchase it, completely and without denial, promptly and without delay." Constitution of Illinois, 1870, Art. II, Sec. 19.

[182] Stubbs "Select Charters," p. 301.

[183] *Wylie* v. *Elwood*, 34 Ill. App. 244 (1889).

[184] *Douglas* v. *Hutchinson*, 183 Ill. 327 (1899).

[185] *Reed* v. *Tyler*, 56 Ill. 288 (1870).

[186] "A frequent recurrence to the fundamental principles of civil government is absolutely necessary to preserve the blessings of liberty." Constitution of Illinois, 1870, Art. II, Sec. 20.

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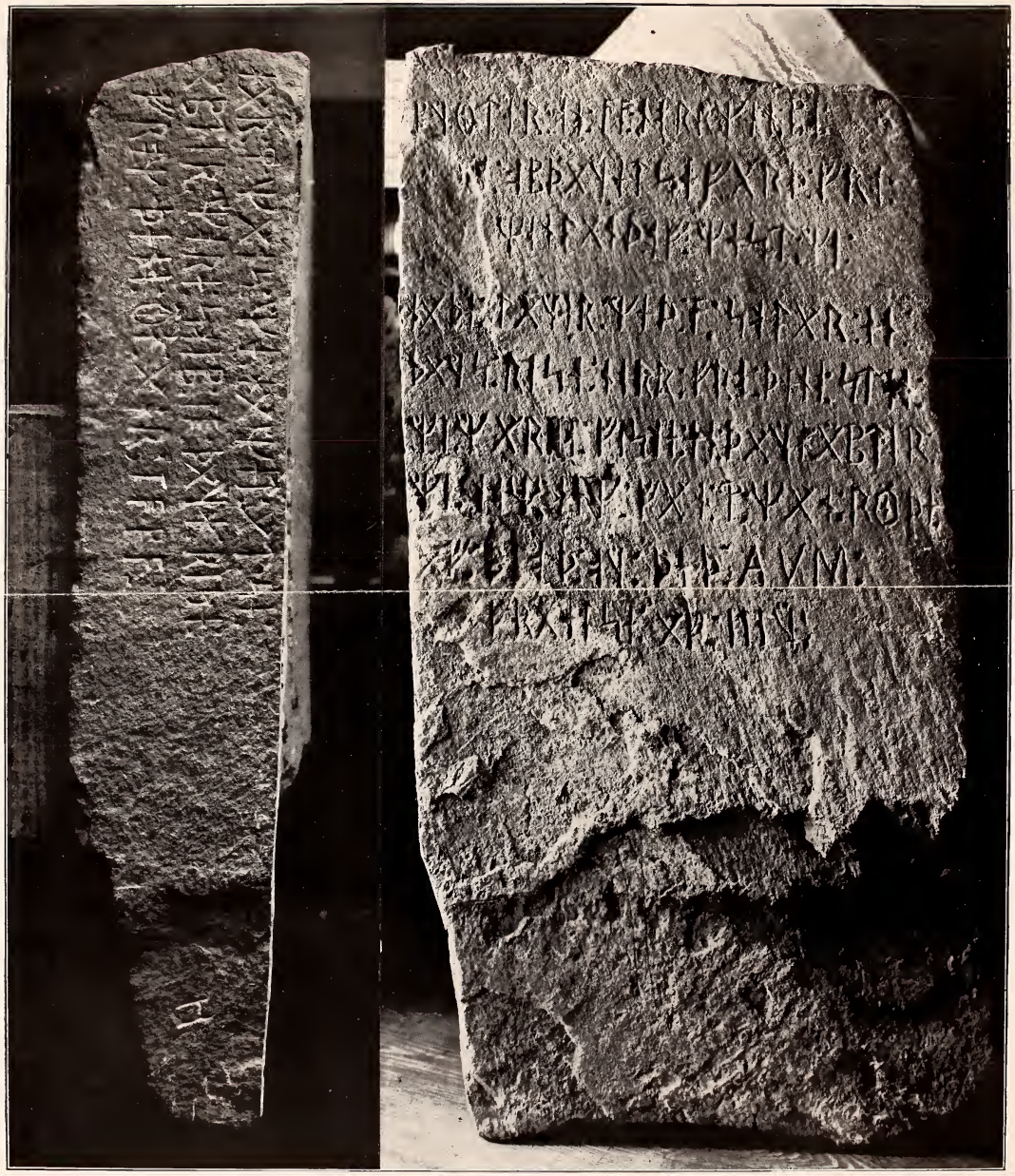

The Kensington Rune-stone.

THE KENSINGTON RUNE STONE.

A Modern Inscription from Douglas County, Minnesota.

(By Professor George T. Flom, of the University of Illinois.)

In the fall of 1898 there was found on a farm a little over three miles northeast of Kensington, Douglas County, Minnesota, a stone with a series of runic characters inscribed upon it.[1] The finder of the stone was Oluf Ohman, who is also the owner of the farm on which it was found; with him at the time of the finding, we are told, was his little son Edward, then ten years old. The stone is a small one, only about thirty inches long, about half as wide and seven inches thick at the upper end. At the base it is narrower, being considerably bevelled on the back. The inscription which is a rather long one, as inscriptions go, contains in all fifty-six words and several numbers, a total of 211 characters, of which 152 occur on the face of the stone and fifty-nine on the left edge; it begins near the top of the stone and extends a little below the middle of it and to a corresponding distance on the edge. The stone itself is partly graywacke, partly calcite, the latter being the lower left hand corner and extending about two-thirds up on the side; some ten of the runes are cut in the calcite part of the stone.

The stone was found in the ground close to and partly under a young tree, two of whose roots had twined themselves around the stone, the one perpendicularly down under the stone, the other along its surface clear to the other edge, where it again followed the outline of the stone downward. Mr. Ohman[2] informs me that the tree look stunted; that is, it's age might be greater than its size would indicate. The tree which was an asp, has not been preserved, but the stump was kept for some time and examined the following spring by several men, who, thinking there might be a treasure

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[1] [The present somewhat detailed examination of the subject has been prompted merely by the desire to aid in establishing and recording the truth. The author has so far not wished to take part in the discussion, though his opinion of the language and the runes has frequently been requested, because he refused to believe that an inscription, the language of which is modern and radically different from Old Swedish should long be able to maintain itself as authentic. He was therefore not a little astonished when in January last he was informed that the stone was coming to be generally regarded as authentic and that the Minnesota Historical Society was about to put itself on record for it, that its Museum Committee, after a "careful" investigation of the whole question, had arrived at that conclusion and were ready to report that the inscription was genuine. He further learned that no Scandinavian philologist had been present in their sessions, that philologists had not been consulted, and that apparently the linguistic questions involved were not appreciated by the committee. When, therefore, the stone was to be exhibited at a meeting of the Chicago Historical Society on February third last and he was urged to be present and discuss the language of the inscription he thought it his duty to do so. He has since visited the locality where the stone was found and the Minnesota State Historical Society's Museum, and examined the runes and made his own transcription of them. This together with certain new discoveries are embodied in this paper, among them the identification of the dialect and certain facts of local history from Douglas County, Minnesota. While knowing that the runological-philological questions involved are the only ones that have scientific value, he has upon special request also undertaken an investigation of the general external evidence. These results, covering the various phases of the question but stressing the linguistic and runological features of it, he was then invited to read before the annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society at Springfield, Illinois, on May sixth, 1910. The paper is here printed as there presented, except for the references and a few technical details. The paper was illustrated by a syllabus, photographs, runic alphabets and impressions of old rune-stones.]

[2] The name has been Americanized from öhman.

hidden under the spot where the stone was found, dug below to a distance of six or seven feet. There was no other stone of any kind encountered in the ground under the spot, nothing that could have served as a base for the rune stone. It had either been planted directly into the ground or had been buried in the ground in the position in which it was found. When found the side with the inscription was down, the bevelling thus being up, a circumstance to which I shall return below.[3]

Upon the request of Mr. Ohman, I am told, Mr. Samuel Olson[4] sent the stone to Professor Curme of Northwestern University for examination. It is reported that Professor Curme was at first inclined to regard the inscription as genuine, but that he later arrived at a different conclusion. The stone was then returned to Mr. Ohman.* The find aroused considerable discussion in the press at the time, but the unusual character of some of the runes made a reliable transcription difficult and the stone was not therefore submitted to a detailed examination. The prevailing attitude was one of skepticism and Mr. Ohman was told "the expert" had pronounced it recent; he then put it in front of his granary, where for ten years it was used as a door-step.

About two years ago interest in the stone was again revived by the report of an account of it which appeared in *Husbibliotek*, 3, for 1908, in which the stone was pronounced authentic by one who was, it seems, then engaged in a study of the Vinland voyages, and who saw in it a document of great historical value, recording as it alleges Norse visits to America as late as 1362, i. e. 238 years later than the historically recorded last Vinland voyage. This report was by a Mr. H. R. Holand, who had purchased the stone from Mr. Ohman or, as it now appears, a share in the stone. Since that time Mr. Holand has devoted much time and energy in the gathering and publishing[5] of evidence looking toward establishing the genuineness of the inscription. And contributions pro and con have recently appeared in considerable number.[6]

The basis of the discussion has been the conditions surrounding the discovery of the stone, there being apparently no evidence of fraud here. Among these are the fact that the stone was actually found in the ground, the veracity of the men who saw the stone and the tree, the apparent age of the tree ,the weathering of the stone, the recent settlement of that locality, the unlikelihood that any of the earlier settlers of that region should have possessed the knowledge of runes, or if so had any reason for foisting such a fraud upon the public, etc. Those who have been skeptical have held that it is absurd to suppose that a company of explorers, thirty in number, should in 1362 have succeeded in penetrating from Vinland on the Atlantic coast clear to Western Minnesota, that to do that, furthermore, in fourteen days would have been a physical impossibility; that the inscription itself looks too recent, that there is much uncertainty as to the age of the tree, that the evidence is too vague and general, and that there has as yet been no thorough and scientific examination of the subject.

Among the contributions to the discussion there is a short article by Helge Gjessing of Lysaker, Norway, which was published some months ago in *Symra*, V. pp. 113-26, in which he discussed quite fully the numeric system employed and the historical conditions involved; he also treated briefly of the runes and the language, in his conclusion denying the authenticity of the stone. Mr. Gjessing dealt broadly with all phases of the question; his discussion is scholarly and his conclusions justified at every point by the material he presents. But his article is brief and he contented himself with

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[3] This fact was told me by Mr. H. H. Winchell and corroborated by Mr. Ohman.
[4] Jeweler and optician of Kensington, formerly of Milwaukee.
* Since this paper was written I have learned that Professor O. J. Breda, then of Minnesota University, now of Christiana, Norway, also at the time passed adversely on the stone.
[5] Several articles in *Skandinaven* one in *Symra* (Decorah, Iowa) and one in *Harper's Weekly*, Oct. 9, 1909.
[6] Thus e. g., to mention only a few, by Dr. Knut Hœgh, "Om Kensington og Elbow Lake Stenene" in *Symra*, V. pp. 178-189, by R. B. Anderson in *Wisconsin State Journal*, Feb. 7, 1910, by O. E. Hagen in *Amerika*, April 1, 1910 (bearing the title "Ad Utrumque Parati Simus"), and by R. B. Anderson, *Amerika*, Feb. 18, 1910.

too cursory a treatment of the linguistic test for the article to be as generally convincing as it deserved to be.[7] A more thorough analysis of the whole inscription will be found to offer an abundance of added evidence that we have to do here, not with a fourteenth century inscription, but with a narrative in a modern dialect—recorded in modern runic characters.

Observing the stone one's doubts may well be aroused, however, even by the external facts that he meets with—the smooth surface of the stone which gives it the appearance of having been shaped and chiseled in recent times by some mason for this particular purpose; and the perfectly distinct runes themselves, so different from the characters of genuine old inscriptions, roughened through weathering and often worn down utterly beyond recognition.

It is to be noted that the Kensington stone is partly of comparatively soft calcite, and yet the runes of this particular part of the stone are as clear and distinct as they are on the upper part which is of graywacke. Had the stone been planted and its face subjected to continued weathering for a series of years the runes upon this part of the stone would have been disfigured to a far greater extent than those of the rest of the inscription. *That these runes, however, are as legible as the rest limits the possible period of weathering so much as to practically establish the probability that the stone never was planted.* Further, it was observed above that the stone was found with the face down, the bevelling at the base being up. But in a stone of this thickness, seven inches at the top and with a base of only about four inches, the face being perfectly straight, there would be so much more weight to the back of the central line in the base as to make it certain that the stone would have fallen backwards, for there was no stone to have formed a support behind and there is every likelihood that the ground would have been made as firm in front of the stone as at the back. *Thus in the position of the stone when found there is the strongest circumstantial evidence that the stone was originally buried, not planted.*

But it is said, the calcite does show considerable decay, pieces of the stone are there chipped off and the surface *is* rougher. However, it is not the age of the stone itself that is in dispute, but the time when the runic features were carved into it. The stone may have lain on the ground a very long time and become much decayed by long weathering, but that has of course no bearing upon the age of the inscription. Anyone who studies the surface of the Kensington stone will find plenty of suspicious features. Through the decaying and wearing away of the stone portions of the inscriptions of many an old rune-stone have been effaced and its text often left fragmentary. But our Kensington rune-master was more fortunate; the stone went on decaying, pieces falling off (observe the piece, three inches long, near the upper left hand corner, and observe the depressions elsewhere), but by some miraculous influence the disintegrating process failed to affect the runic characters; they were to be left unmarred so that nothing in the account left by these intrepid explorers might be spoiled! The lower portion of the stone is not inscribed; that part was to be placed in the ground, we are told,—or *did the scribe stop where he did to continue on a more suitable surface on the edge of the stone?*

There is further the thoroughly modern character of the narrative itself, so very circumstantial in its account of the direction of the journey, the purpose, their stopping over night by two skerries a day's journey north of the stone, their being out fishing, their return home finding their comrades *red with blood and dead*,[8] and finally the information that they have ten men by the ocean looking after their boats, and how long it would take to get back there. Now, in the old inscriptions the circumstances of an experience are never told with such care of details. It is only the one important event or fact that is there told in the shortest possible space.

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[7] The "Answer to Gjessing" in *Symra* V, pp. 210-13, of course fails absolutely to meet the points at issue.

[8] Observe!

The detailed character of our narrative is also evidenced in the author's preciseness in his numbers; and further the method of giving the year is characteristic of the modern inscriptions of the 17th century to the 19th century. In the old inscriptions the year would have been indicated in harmony with the practice of the time, as "the seventh year of the rule of king Hakon," etc.

Then there is further the preposterous assumption that twenty men returning to camp, finding that ten of their number had been butchered by the Indians in their absence, should go a day's journey still farther inland into the wild country, and then cooly sit down and remain there while one of their number carved on a stone the complete record of their tragic experience, a task which would have taken several days perhaps. The neatness of the job shows that the work was done with care[9] and desire for detail that indicates the mental attitude of composure, no fear of further disturbance, an attitude which is quite incompatible with that which we naturally assume to have existed under the circumstances narrated in the inscription.

Let us now turn to the internal evidence.

I can not stress too strongly that where we are dealing with an alleged old inscription in a language whose history is known, the scientific test of authenticity lies principally in the vocabulary and the linguistic forms of the inscription. If, as in this case, the alphabet used is a runic one, then the runic characters employed offer a valuable collateral test. *The key for determining the age of inscriptions is always to be found in the internal evidence of the inscription itself.* Now it is a most elementary principle in the science of philology that a living language is constantly undergoing slow imperceptible changes according to certain definite tendencies. It is the province of the philologist to ascertain and formulate the laws that have governed all these changes and to fix their chronology. Upon the basis of such study the character of a language in its different periods may be ascertained and the history of the language written.

With archeological finds it may often happen that the date of the find can be given only in the most general way, according to the known characteristics of the different periods; this frequently, because of the nature of the archeologist's material and the more limited criteria at hand. But in tracing the changing forms of art and in the classification of his material he need experience no such uncertainty. The archeologist and the philologist have a common scientific interest in old inscriptions upon old finds; the philologist is interested in the inscription as a linguistic document and a record of the life and activities of a people, the archeologist is interested in the find as an archeological document and a record of the cultural history of the race or of a region. The archeologist interprets and classifies his find—he may assign it to a particular time in the civilization of the race according to the type of art and industry and the degree of advancement it exhibits. But the inscription offers in this case a much more specific means for fixing the date and he accepts for it the date which the philologist determines, who tests it by the known facts of the language for its different periods.

About 2,300 ancient and medieval runic inscriptions have been discovered in the Scandinavian Countries.[10] The inscriptions are for the most part preserved in the various National and Royal Museums and Libraries of the Scandinavian North. Of this number nearly 2,000 are Swedish,[11] but the oldest are Danish and Norwegian. The great preponderance of Swedish inscriptions over the Danish and the Norwegian is significant for the place runic lore and the art of writing runes occupied among the Swedes at that time.[12] The inscriptions have been subjected to most careful study by eminent Scandinavian runologists, as Ludwig F. A. Wimmer in Denmark,

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[9] This fact was also pointed out by Dr. C. N. Gould, of Chicago University, in his report to the Museum Committee at St. Paul.

[10] And a considerable number in Great Britain.

[11] On the age and distribution of the Swedish inscriptions the interested reader may be referred to Noreen's *Altschwedische Grammatik*, §6. The subject is discussed briefly and more popularly in Noreen's *De nordiska Spraken*, 1903, pp. 5-10.

[12] As to a later time see below.

the late Sophus Bugge in Norway and others.[13] The latter of these is the author of a work in which all the runic inscriptions of Norway are given a minute philological examination, namely, "*Norges Indskrifter med de aeldre Runer*" and "*Norges Indskrifter med de yngre Runer*," Christiana, 1894-05.[14]

It is recognized by the scientific bodies who are the keepers of these museums and libraries that the runological and linguistic investigation furnishes the only definite criteria of date, and in the dating of an inscription they are guided accordingly.[15]

Among the settled facts of the science of runology is that of the three successive alphabets and the order in which they succeeded each other. The oldest series of twenty-four runes began early in the Viking age to be supplanted by a shorter alphabet of sixteen, which continued in use for about three centuries.[16] The so-called "youngest" alphabet began to come into use in the tenth century, later wholly replacing the second runic alphabet, the evolution of the third runic alphabet of twenty-four characters out of the one of sixteen being prompted by the development of new sounds in the language. The evolution of these three runic alphabets was fairly uniform throughout the whole Scandinavian North.[17] It is also to be borne in mind that this alphabet was in use for several centuries as the alphabet regularly employed in runic writing at the time, very much as we today employ our particular form of letters in all writing because generally used and generally understood.

With these facts recognized let us now turn to the inscription of the Kensington stone.

In general the transcription of the stone does not present any serious difficulty. There are some unusual characters, such as and in the first line, in the second, and in line four (fifth letter from the margin). Further also, what appears to be a punctuated *m*-rune is used for *v* as in the initial character of the name Vinland. Also the runes for *k*, *p* and *u* are striking, but when these have been identified (see below), there can be little doubt as to what the characters of the inscription are intended to convey. The two transcriptions which have been made agree also in nearly all particulars. One of these was published on page fifteen in *Harper's Weekly*, for October 9, 1909, the other by Mr. H. Gjessing in *Symra*, V. page 116. The differences, which are due to different reading of four of the characters, affect only the demonstrative for "this" before *sten* in line five on the face of the stone, and before the word *öh* in the last line of the continuation on the edge of the stone, and of the sixth and seventh characters in the sixth line on the front. Otherwise the lines are throughout the whole inscription perfectly clear and distinct, and the final vowel in the word before *öh* is a perfectly clear *o*-rune. Similarly with the last character before the word *sten* in line five; it is a little irregular but clearly has not had the cross-bar of the *e*-rune. The uncertainty in the sixth and seventh characters in line six would seem to be due to the fact that the original types have erroneously been written for , the word intended being *po* not *ok*. Discovering this the author has then tried to correct the former, the result being the hybrid forms which the inscription exhibits.

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[13] The chief authority on runes in Norway now, is Prof. Magnus Olson.

[14] Wimmer's great work is *De danske Runemindesmarker*, I-IV, Copenhagen, 1895-1908.

[15] There may of course often be other evidences also.

[16] The great work upon the subject is *Die Runenschrift*, revised edition, Berlin, 1887, by Professor Wimmer, the founder of the science; the basis of this work is his *Runernes Oprindelse og Udvikling i Norden*, Copenhagen, 1874.

[17] Wimmer, *Die Runenschrift*, page 300, discusses this question.

In the third runic series the rune stood for the dental spirant. This rune occurs fourteen times in the inscription. Mr. Gjessing has correctly and consistently transcribed *dh*, but the transcription in *Harper's Weekly* cited has *dag* in line five, as also op*dag*else in line two, while in lines six and eleven the same word is written with initial *dh*, (*dhag*). Inasmuch as *dh*, *th*, represented the spirant in Old Swedish, a sound which in runic script was written , it becomes impossible to read anything but *dh* (and *th*) in this word as in the rest of the fourteen cases where the rune *thorn*, , is used, if we attempt to transcribe into the runic series of that time. I shall return to this rune below. For the moment then we shall consider the language on the basis of these transcriptions, writing *po* in line six and *dheno* in lines five and twelve. The inscription would then read as follows:

8 göter ok 22 norrmen po opdhagelsefærdh fro Vinlandh of vest vi hadhe læger vedh 2 skjær en dhags rise norr fro dheno sten vi var po fiske en dhagh æptir vi kom hem fan 10 man rödhe af blod og dhedh A. V. M. fraelse af illu.

har 10 mans ve havet at se æptir vore skip 14 dhagh rise from dheno öh ahr 1362.

One who is familiar with Old Swedish will find in these few sentences of fifty-six words spellings that do not represent the pronunciation of Swedish in the year 1362; adjective, noun and verb inflexional forms that were not used at the time; words occurring which had not come into use and did not exist in fourteenth century Swedish, while other words are employed in meanings which they did not have at that time but only assumed several centuries later. I shall take the inflexions first.

1. Inflexion.

vi var, vi kom, (vi) fan, (vi) har. In Swedish of the fourteenth century the first person plural of the present indicative still regularly had the ending *um*, the shorter forms being modern. On the inscriptions of that time the forms are therefore *vi varom, vi komom, vi funnum*, and *vi havom*.[18] In middle Swedish the third person plural in *a* is often taken over into the first person, as *vi skula, Styffe* II, 36, from 1396; other occurrences are cited in Söderwall's *Hufvudepokerna af svenska Språkets Utbildning*, Lund, 1870, page 66. But the transference of the singular *var, fan, kom* and *har* to the plural is comparatively recent.[19] The verb *hava* is in the third person singular, in the fourteenth century and long after regularly *haffver* (as *han haffver vi söner*).[20]

vi kom hem fan 10 man rödhe af blodh og dhedh. The accusative plural of the adjective was in fourteenth century Swedish *-a*, hence here *rödha* and *dödha*. Later the *ending becomes ae.* Plural *mans* is of course also irregular.

vi hadhe. Should be *vi haffthom* or *haffdhom. vi hadhe* is modern (spelled *hade*, or in Norwegian *hadde* besides *havde*). The modern scribe has here employed the verb form of his own speech. *Hadde* occurs in a Charter of 1453, but of course as third person singular.

fra dheno sten. Should be *fra þaessom sten* (variant *þaemma*

[18] *um* or *om* according to the principles of vowel harmony and vowel balance.
[19] For verification of all these facts see Noreen cit., or Rydquist's *Svenska Språkets Lagar*, Vol. I.
[20] cf. also *haver* in sentence cited and misunderstood in *Symra*, V. p. 211.

sten); later *fra* may also govern the accusative, which would give the form *fra* *þaenna* *sten*. *Dheno* (*deno*) is an impossible form in any position.

at se aeptir vore skip. *Se aeptir* in Old Swedish, like Old Norse *sja eptir*, meaning 'look after, take care of' governed the dative case, which further had the ending *um* (*om*) for adjective and noun in the plural. The corresponding Old Swedish phrase then was *at se aeptir varom skipum*. Except for the word *aeptir* the phrase on the Kensington rune-stone is that of present speech. On *sja eptir* in Old Norse see Fritzner *Ordbog* III, page 256. But see below.

from dheno öh. Old Swedish *ö* is a feminine noun; the demonstrative pronoun for this was *þaesse* in Old Swedish, which again was *þaesse* in the dative and *þaessa* or *þaenna* in the accusative case. The corresponding phrase was then in Old Swedish: *fra* *þ* *aenna ö*.

2. The Meaning of Certain Words.

po. *Pa*. which at that time was just forming from *upp-a* > *up-pa* could not be, and was not, used in this way. *uppa* meant 'upon' 'on the top of,' used with reference to locality, not with reference to an activity.[21] One could say *pa jordhen*, 'on the ground,' but for 'on a fishing trip' or 'out a-fishing,' one said *a fiski* (cf in Old Norse *vera a fiski*, *sitja a fiski* (Fritzner under *fiski*). The use of *pa* (*paa*) with nouns denoting activity, as here, is modern, indeed (in Swedish) comparatively recent.

opdhagelse. This word Falk and Torp show to have come from Dutch *opdagen*, 'to come to light,' 'to dawn;' the modern meaning of the word is due to High German *entdecken*. This would require a date during the first period of, or subsequent to, German influence on the Swedish language, i. e. after the reformation. The author of the inscription, therefore, here uses a word which in 1362 was Dutch and not known till long after in Scandinavian speech. The conception 'journey of exploration' did not and could not exist in 1362.[22] *Kanna landit* or *njosna*, Old Swedish *njusna*, was used but not in the sense of 'exploration.'

lager. This is a later loan from German. The Old Swedish word *laegher* meant: (1) burial place, (2) copulation.[23]

rise. Old Swedish *resa* meant 'to raise,' being originally the same word as English 'raise.' *Resa*, '*journey*,' is a late meaning-loan from German.

se aeptir. The idea "look after, take care of," was in Old Swedish expressed by *tilse* (*tilsea*, *tilsia*). In Old Norse *sja eptir* and *sja til* were both used. See Rydquists' *Ordbok öfver svenska Språket*, pages 393 and 458, or Söderwall's *Ordbok öfver svenska Språket i Medeltiden*.

3. Pronunciation and Spelling.

hadhe. At the time of the alleged date, the preterite singular form of *hafa*, 'to have,' was *haffe* that is, the disappearance of *v* before consonant had not yet taken place. *Hadhe* or *hade* (see transcription, page 116) are impossible forms for the year 1362.

vedh should be *vidh* or *vidher; vedh* occurs in "*Jöns Buddes Bok*, a ms. of 1487-1491. The development of *i* to *e* in open syllable before *dh* which brought about the change of *vidher* to *vedher* begins about 1400. Kock cites *wedh*, from older *vidh*, for the year 1620. A full discussion of the development of the *e* in Swedish may be found in Kock's *Svensk Ljudhistoria*, Vol.

[21] As correctly given by Gjessing in *Symra*, 1909, p. 121.
[22] On this see Juul Dieserud's excellent discussion in *Skandinaven* for May 4, 1910, in article entitled "*Holand og Kensingtonspögen*."
[23] See Fritzner under *legr* and Rydquist under *laegher*.

I, pp. 27-59 (1906). In the second line from the end of our inscription occurs the form ve which is merely a phonetic writing of the modern coloquial Swedish *ve* (= *ved* but *d* silent).

fro. The pronunciation was regularly with the vowel *a*. *Fra* and *fram* both occur as prepositions in Middle Swedish but never with *o as* in *'from,'* last line of the inscription. On the identification of *fro* see below.

of. The vowel of the preposition was, and still is, *a*, hence the form here required if *af*. Comparison with the prefix of, meaning 'too,' is beside the point, for *'of'* is an adverb; (as e. g. in *ofmykit* 'too much'), and was never used for 'of,' or 'from.' *Of vest* for 'far west' would in Old Swedish be as impossible as to say 'too west' in English today. On the identification of (the apparently archaic) *of* see below.

öh. The long or short *ö*-sound in Old Swedish was written with one vowel. When final, however, length was sometimes indicated by doubling, as *öö, döö,* etc., (see Kock, *Ljudhistoria,* II page 24), which was also in Middle Swedish the regular way of representing length. The writing of *h* after a vowel to indicate length (as in German) is due to modern German influence and is characteristic of the seventeenth century in certain works, as Georg Sternhjelm's *Musae Suetizantes* (1668): *åhren och dagarne lijda.*

dhag, opdhagelse, dhedh. It is evident from these words that the writer of the runes uses the character *dh, th* (see above page 110) not only for the cases where spirantal sound actually existed (as e. g., in *färdh* and *blodh*), but also where the language at that time had the stop sound *d*, as in *dhag* and *opdhagelse* and in the first dental in *dhedh* (Old Swedish *dödh*). If we assume the date to be the fourteenth century, the inscription would be in the alphabet of that time, in which *d* had its own rune (see below), the spirants *dh* and *th* being written ᚦ. Hence we should have to read *thag* and *opthagelse* (th = voiced as in 'then'), which was not the pronunciation of that time, nor had been since primitive Germanic times.

The word for 'day' was pronounced *dagh* and that for 'dead,' *ödh* (*th*). To have said *thagh,* or *thödh* would have been as impossible in the language of that time as it would be for us to say *thay* for 'day' or *then* for 'den' in English and expect to be understood.

To illustrate to the lay reader the language of the time and the consistent use of forms I cite the following passage from *Själinne Thröst,* 1370, manuscript 1430. The second selection—from *Margaret's Chronicle,* late 15th century MS. 1514-1525—will show the presence still of the inflexional features which are lacking in the Kensington inscription:

Christofforus thydhyr swa mykyt a wart maal som'then ther bar Christum', for thy han bar Christum a sinom armom j mænniskio like. Han bar oc Ihesu Christi nampn j sinom mun oc altidh j sino hiærte. Sancte Christoffer war först een hedhnunge oc bet Reprobus. Han war stærkir oc stoor oc wæl XII alna hæghir. En dagh stodh han oc thiænte for sinom herra, Canaan rikis konunge. Tha fiol i hans hugh, at han ey wilde thiæna vtan them mæktoghasta herra j wærldinne ware. Honom war sakt aff enom mæktoghum oc widhfræghum konung. Han kom til hans oc bödh honom sina thiænist. Konungen sagh han wara een froman man; togh han gladhlika oc gærna til sinn. Thet hænde thær æpte, at een koklare lekte een dagh for konuxins bordhe oc hafdhe diæfwulsins nampn j munne. Swa opta han diæwulin nämpde stygdis konungin widhir oc giordhe kors for sino anne. Thet mærkte Christofforus wæl oc spordhe konungen hwat han ther medh mente. Konungen swaradhe honom: 'Hwan then tidh, iak höro, etc.—(*Själinne Thröst.*)

Mædh Guz nadh haffwom wi tænkt at hær sammanskriffwa sancta Birgitta slægt, swa mykyt wi haffwom aff sannindamænniskiom sport oc hört. Först är wetande, at sancta Birgitta modherfadher han hæt hær Bænkt laghman oc war thæs konungxens brodher, som tha styrdhe i rikeno. Han tok sik til hustru ena ædhlasta oc fæghersta iomfru, som het Sighridh, wtfödh aff godhe slækt oc the ey aff swa store oc mæktoghe som han, for huilket konungen hans brodher wart honom mykyt oblidher oc sænde honom en kiortel halffwan aff gyllene stykke oc halffwan aff wadhmal, til smälikhet oc mente thar

1.

2.

3.

I, pp. 27-59 (1906). In the second line from the end of our inscription occurs the form *ve* which is merely a phonetic writing of the modern coloquial Swedish *ve* (= *ved* but *d* silent).

fro. The pronunciation was regularly with the vowel *a*. *Fra* and *fram* both occur as prepositions in Middle Swedish but never with *o as* in *'from,'* last line of the inscription. On the identification of *fro* see below.

of. The vowel of the preposition was, and still is, *a*, hence the form here required if *af*. Comparison with the prefix of, meaning 'too,' is beside the point, for *'of'* is an adverb; (as e. g. in *ofmykit* 'too much'), and was never used for 'of,' or 'from.' *Of vest* for 'far west' would in Old Swedish be as impossible as to say 'too west' in English today. On the identification of (the apparently archaic) *of* see below.

óh. The long or short *ó*-sound in Old Swedish was written with one vowel. When final, however, length was sometimes indicated by doubling, as *öö, döö*, etc., (see Kock, *Ljudhistoria*, II page 24), which was also in Middle Swedish the regular way of representing length. The writing of *h* after a vowel to indicate length (as in German) is due to modern German influence and is characteristic of the seventeenth century in certain works, as Georg Sternhjelm's *Musae Suetizantes* (1668): *åhren och dagarne lijda.*

dhag, opdhagelse, dhedh. It is evident from these words that the writer of the runes uses the character *dh, th* (see above page 110) not only for the cases where spirantal sound actually existed (as e. g., in *färdh* and *blodh*), but also where the language at that time had the stop sound *d*, as in *dhag* and *opdhagelse* and in the first dental in *dhedh* (Old Swedish *döddh*). If we assume the date to be the fourteenth century, the inscription would be in the alphabet of that time, in which *d* had its own rune (see below), the spirants *dh* and *th* being written ᚦ. Hence we should have to read *thag* and *opthagelse* (th = voiced as in 'then'), which was not the pronunciation of that time, nor had been since primitive Germanic times.

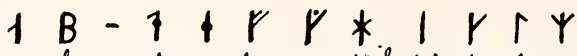
The word for 'day' was pronounced *dagh* and that for 'dead,' *döddh* (*th*). To have said *thagh*, or *thöddh* would have been as impossible in the language of that time as it would be for us to say *thay* for 'day' or *then* for 'den' in English and expect to be understood.

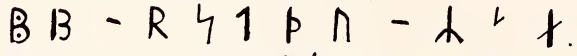
To illustrate to the lay reader the language of the time and the consistent use of forms I cite the following passage from *Själinne Thröst*, 1370, manuscript 1430. The second selection—from *Margaret's Chronicle*, late 15th century MS. 1514-1525—will show the presence still of the inflexional features which are lacking in the Kensington inscription:

Christofforus thydhyr swa mykyt a wart maal som'then ther bar Christum', for thy han bar Christum a sinom armom j mænniskio like. Han bar oc Ihesu Christi nampn j sinom mun oc altidh j sino hiærte. Sancte Christoffer war först een hedhnunge oc het Reprobus. Han war stærkir oc stoor oc wæl XII alna hæghir. En dagh stodh han oc thiænte for sinom herra, Canaan rikis konunge. Tha fiol i hans hugh, at han ey wilde thiæna vtan them mæktoghasta herra j wærldinne ware. Honom war sakt aff enom mæktoghum oc widhfræghum konung. Han kom til hans oc bödh honom sina thiænist. Konungen sagh han wara een froman man; togh han gladhlika oc gærna til sinn. Thet hænde thær æpte, at een koklare lekte een dagh for konuxins bordhe oc hafdhe diæfwulsins nampn j munne. Swa opta han diæwulin nämpde stygdis konungin widhir oc giordhe kors for sino anne. Thet mærkte Christofforus wæl oc spordhe konungen hwat han ther medh mente. Konungen swaradhe honom: 'Hwan then tidh, iak höro, etc.—(*Själinne Thröst.*)

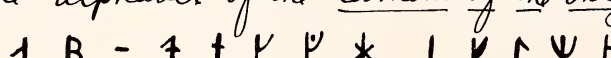
Mædh Guz nadh haffwom wi tænkt at hær sammanskriffwa sancta Birgitta slægt, swa mykyt wi haffwom aff sannindamænniskiom sport oc hört. Först är wetande, at sancta Birgitta modherfadher han hæt hær Bænkt laghman oc war thæs konungxens brodher, som tha styrdhe i rikeno. Han tok sik til hustru ena ædhlasta oc fægherstа iomfru, som het Sighridh, wtfödh aff godhe slækt oc the ey aff swa store oc mæktoghe som han, for huilket konungen hans brodher wart honom mykyt oblidher oc sænde honom en kiortel halffwan aff gyllene stykke oc halffwan aff wadhmal, til smälikhet oc mente thar

1. The alphabet of the Scanian Law:

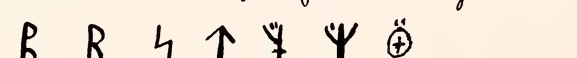




2. The alphabet of the Lament of the Virgin:



3. The alphabet of the Kensington Inscription



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madh, at han haffde wanwört theras slækt. Än hær Bænkt læt thæn delen allan besænkia mæd gul oc pærlom oc mædh dyrom stenom sætia, swa at han wart dyrare an thæn andre delen. Thær æpter læt konungen honom wnsighiæ oc fegdha honom oppa sit liff oc sænde honom bodh.—From Noreen's *Altschwedisches Lesebuch*, p. 104.

Let us now turn to the question of runic forms.

There has come down to us a most remarkable literary document from the year 1300—a manuscript of the Scanian Law in runes. The manuscript is written in the runic alphabet of that time, "the third" or "youngest" series of twenty-four characters, as enlarged and developed out of the shorter alphabet of sixteen characters. This manuscript, called *Codex Runicus*, has been edited in a photo-lithographic reproduction by Prof. P. G. Thorsen, and an illustrative page was included in P. Hansen's *Dansk Literaturhistorie*.[24] The alphabet was printed on page two hundred fifty-six of Wimmer's *Die Runenschrift*, edition of 1887, and is herewith reproduced, opposite page, as No. 1. This alphabet is often called the punctuated runes, because new runes of *d*, *e*, *g*, *p*, are formed by punctuation of older runes for *t*, *i*, *k* and *b*. It is to be observed (1) that the rune for *e* is a punctuated stave; that is, the old rune for *i* is differentiated by punctuation to designate *e*, (2) that the runes for *k* and *g* have an ascending arm on the right, *g being punctuated;* (3) that the rune for *t* is a stave with only one arm; (4) that the rune for *v* is still the same as the one for *f*, though it is sometimes punctuated; (5) that there are distinct runes for *ae* and *a;* (6) that the rune for *ö* is the *ö*-rune with the two bars extending across to the right; and finally, (7) that the rune can only represent the two spirants.

The alphabet of the *Mariaklagan* (Lament of the Virgin) of the beginning of the 15th century is the same alphabet, the minor variations represent the tendencies that developed in the course of the 14th century.[25] One page of this early Middle Swedish poem in runes was photographed in Thorsen's *Runernes Brug til Skrift*, Copenhagen, 1877, page fifty-seven. The original is now preserved in the Royal Library at Stockholm. Its alphabet is here reproduced as No. 2. Mr. Gjessing, in an article previously referred to, has called attention (page 119) to the fact that the alphabet in the Rauland inscription, 1352, from Telemarken, Norway, is identical with that of the Scanian law.

Such is therefore the runic system then in use. The difference between this alphabet and that of the Kensington stone will be most clearly shown in a transliteration of the latter into an alphabet. See opposite page, No. 3.

The divergence between the third runic series (see alphabet 1 and 2 opposite) and the alphabet of the Kensington inscription is, as will be seen, very pronounced. The differences are, in fact, more numerous than the correspondences. The only runes that are identical are those for *b*, *f*, *h*, *i*, *l*, *m*, and *s*, while those for *e* and *o* are of the same general type. The remaining thirteen of the total of twenty-four are, however, different and most of them of a wholly different type, some of them clearly elaborated forms. The rune for *g* has an ascending arm on the left of the stave in place of the right; a similar change occurs in the rune for *v*, in which one of the arms has

[24] There is a fac-simile of a ballad fragment reproduced on page 69 of Thorsen's *Runernes Brug til Skrift.*

[25] The history of the former of these may be found in "Köbke's *Om Runerne i Norden*, 1890, pp. 80-81." The *Mariaklagan* is discussed in "Schück's *Svensk Literaturhistoria*," a fac-simile of one page also appears on page four of this work. It is further discussed in Ålund *De nordiska Runorna*, pp. 75-77 and in Thorsen. Since the impression was expressed by Mr. Holand at the Chicago meeting that modern word forms occur in the *Lament*, I take occasion to say this is an error; the inflexional forms are the old ones.

been transferred to the left producing a stave with an ascending arm on each side. To differentiate from the *m*-rune the rune for *v* is punctuated. The runes for *a*, *j*, *k*, *u*, *y*, *ae* and *ö* exhibit still greater departures; in fact, most of them are evidently from a different runic alphabet, and some suggest modern compromises with the corresponding Latin letters.[26] It is to be observed especially that the dental series is represented only by two runes, one for *d* (see below) and one for *t*.

The question thus arises: Where does this alphabet come from? Was it used anywhere and at any time for purposes of writing? The answer is yes.

Now it is a well-known fact that the knowledge of runes did not cease with the Old Scandinavian period, and it has long ago been established that the use of runes was not, in Sweden and Denmark, limited to inscriptions on monuments. We need only to cite the evidence of the runic manuscript of the Scanian law, and the fact that occasionally verses in runic script appear in the old ballads, which were not committed to writing before the middle of the sixteenth century. See Thorsen: *Runernes Brug til Skrift udenfor det monumentale*, page sixty-nine, where two lines in runes from a popular ballad are reproduced. According to Grundtvig, runes appear in twenty-seven of the Old Danish ballads. An alphabet, *a* to *v*, representing the runes of the ballad is reproduced in Thorsen's volume, page 71; the date is the middle of the sixteenth century. Its runes are, however, in almost complete agreement with that of the third or youngest Old Scandinavian series.[27] While these runes were also elsewhere published in modern times, as by Ole Worm, we cannot, however, find here the literary source of the Kensington runes, for these are a different alphabet. It may be pointed out, howver, that runes are mentioned in Danish ballads, in such a way as to show knowledge of the formation of runes in Denmark and their correct interpretation to a very late period. See note 71 in Thorsen's volume, citing *Gamle jyske Folkeviser*, No. twenty, "Den elskedes Död." Thorsen concludes: "Den Dag i Dag leve saaledes "Runerne" endnu gjennem Folkevisen,—den er nedarvet umiddelbart og vilkaarlig fastholdt, og Kilden har været saa dyb, at den i Tidernes Löb har kunnet bevare og forklare." In subsequent pages of his work, Thorsen offers an abundance of evidence of the use of runes in Denmark in modern times.[28]

This we also find to be the condition in Sweden; and what is more, the preservation of the knowledge of runes and skill in the use of runes here received royal encouragement, and we have every reason to believe that the practice of writing runes was not uncommon among the common man in Sweden until the last century. On July fifth, 1684, Charles XI decreed upon the recommendation of the College of Antiquities: att de, som visade största skicklighet att skara runstafvor och att undervisa om deras bruk, och sålunda förmå allmogen att till allmant begagnande återtaga de samma, skulle åtnjuta friket från utskrifning och skatt till kongl, majestat och kronan."[29] Thorsen, note 69). During Gustavus Adolphus's Polish War, in 1628, Count Jakob de la Gardie used runic ciphers in secret orders sent from Riga to the commanding officer at Bohus.[30] We further learn that several of these letters have been preserved (see Köbke, page eighty-two).

During the seventeenth century there took place a revival of interest in runes in Sweden, and runes came again to be used in inscriptions on monuments and otherwise.[31] The influence of Bureus through his *Runakäns-*

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[26] So is the letter ö with the e-rune set inside the circle.

[27] The variations represent the transition to the later alphabet; see below. See also the ballad fragment in runes in Ålund. page 75, or in Thorsen.

[28] Further evidence in Ålund, *De nordiska Runorna*, p. 77, who also cites similar evidence for Iceland, as a rune-inscribed gravestone for 1681.

[29] That those who showed greatest skill in cutting runestaves and in instruction how to use them and thus induce the common man to a general use of runes should be exempt from military duty and from taxes to his royal majesty and the crown.

[30] Liljegren, *Runlära*, 213.

[31] Erlik Ålund, *De nordiska Runorna*, p. 78.

lones Lärospån (1599) and his various A B C books on runes (1611, 1612, 1624) must have been considerable. Modern rune-inscribed gravestones exist in Sweden, among them three of recent date near Stockholm, one of the year 1861; or, to name earlier ones, at Upsala over the grave of Verelius and in Helsingland over Rev. O. J. Broman's grave. And runes have been extensively used for other inscriptions.[32] Runes have in the modern period often been used by private persons as private marks of ownership in inscriptions on spoons, chests, chairs and other objects of use, further on window frames, over doors, on a stone in the foundation of houses, etc., etc. In *Land og Folk* for 1876, pp. 24 and 26-28, N. G. Bruzelius published a photographic copy of an account of such a one as still found and used in Borreby in Ingelstad County in Skaane until after 1820.[33] These things will serve sufficiently to point out the extent to which runes have been cultivated and actually used in modern Sweden even down to recent times.[34] So that it need not surprise us if now we shall offer to point out the precise modern source of the Kensington runic letters, for if we can identify the alphabet in use on it, the above survey should have dispelled any skepticism which we, here in America at the present time, might not unnaturally have as to the likelihood of any immigrant from Sweden having sufficient knowledge of runes to be able to produce an inscription here in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

According to Bureus a runic alphabet was in use in Dalarne in the sixteenth century, a statement which is verified by a runic inscription in the Ålfdal dialect found on a chair from Lillhardal now preserved in the historical museum of the Swedish Government.[35] This inscription was dated about the year 1600 by Sophus Bugge. Another runic inscription which is found over the door of an old garret room in the village of Orsebeck in Orsa Parish in Dalarne, is of the same origin. It is dated 1635, and the text states that 'Erik Olson built this garret.'[35] Further, the Botanist Linné in his description of Dalarne, speaks of the fact that runes were in use in Ålfdal then; i. e., in the eighteenth century (1734), a fact which finds verification in Ihre and Götlin's work on *De runarum in Svecia occasu*, 1773, pp. 20-21, according to which the people of Ålfdal made use of a runic series with certain new characters for personal messages and for other personal records.[36] The runic alphabet contained in Ihre and Götlin's work was reproduced by Thorsen, page a hundred three, and new forms later brought to light have been published.

From it we observe the significant facts that the rune for *a* = X or ✕, and *d* = ᚦ both of which we find on the Kensington stone; it has certain developed forms as 1 and ᛏ for j, Ⓣ for o and ö for ö.[37] It further contains the runic letter k for *k*, which in the Kensington inscription is cut with the arms to the left, the same kind of modification appearing in the rune for *u*, which is further characterized by a cross-bar. Especially significant is the identification of the troublesome characters for *a*, *d*, *j*, and *ö*. The alphabet is in some respects different; in the form as published in J. C. Liljegren's *Runlära*, Stockholm, 1832, appendix, it is already somewhat simpler and approaches the Kensington forms. The two are the same alphabet, the only important differences being clearly due to the scribe himself.[38]

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[32] Ålund records several cases, p. 79.

[33] As late as 1840 there was published in Upsala a work entitled: *Svenskt og Runskt Calendarium in till åhret 1840 samt Bekrifning öfver Runstafven.*

[34] See Thorsen, p. 80.

[35] These facts from Ålund.

[36] Thorsen's statement is as follows: Etiam hodierno die in suprema Dalecarliae regione ab incolis parœciæ Elfdalen Runae retinentur.

[37] See Dalarne inscriptions of recent times in *Fornvännen*, 1906.

[38] Or to local variation, and in the case of the runes for *e*, *o*, *l*, literary influence (ballad books, rune-lists, modern readers with runes in.)

A most significant feature of the correspondence between the two is the symbol employed in them for *d*. We saw that in the old series the spirant *th* and *dh* was represented by and *d* by . This we are forced to assume on the part of a scribe of the fourteenth century ignorance of the runic letter *d* used in his time, which is not conceivable, or ignorance of the pronunciation of the time, which is impossible, or else *that the writing of* thag *for* dag, *and* theth *for* dödh *must originate with a modern scribe who is ignorant of the pronunciation of the time, as well as the runic system.*

Now, however, another explanation at once suggests itself. In the Dalecarlian runic alphabet there is no rune for the spirants *dh* and *th* for these sounds disappeared from the language in the eighteenth century and no longer exist in Swedish except locally and sporadically. But this modern runic alphabet came to employ the rune for *d*, owing to its greater similarity to D.[39]

Thus the dental spirants do not exist in our inscription. We therefore arrive at the following new transcription of what the author of the Kensington runes had in mind when he wrote:

8 göter ok 22 norrmen po opdagelsefærd fro vinland of vest vi hade læger ved 2 skjær en dags rise norr fro deno sten vi var po fiske en dagh æptir vi kom hem fan 10 man röde of blod og ded. A. V. M. fraelse af illu.

har 10 mans ve havet at se æptir vore skip 14 dagh rise from deno öh, ahr 1362."

Our inscription is therefore the work of one who was familiar with the Dalecarlian runes, he being either a native of that region, or having gotten his knowledge of them from some literary source. The latter would have been a comparatively simple matter, for these modern runes have been printed several times, e. g. as late as 1832 in the appendix of Liljegren's *Runlära.* As the language indicates (see below) the author was probably an immigrant from Dalarne or that region of Sweden, hence it is not necessary to assume literary source for his Dalecarlian alphabet. However, there occur runes that are not evidenced in Dalecarlian inscriptions, as the runes for *o*, *n* and *t*.[40] But these three runes occur in an interpreted inscription printed on page forty-five of the History of the Language of Dalarne referred to below, page thirty and a native of Dalarne may easily have known this work. Or he may have learned them through such a work as *Runelista, eller Konsten att Läsa Runor, Folkskolorna och Folket Meddelad,* by C. Joh. *Ljungstrom,* published in 1866 and in a second edition in 1875. Of the second edition of this publication 2,000 copies were purchased by the Government and distributed to the teachers of the public schools in Sweden. It is not even necessary to assume literary source of the non-Dalecarlian runes. Observing the different characters upon some rune-inscribed gravestone[41] the one familiar with Dalecarlian runes would naturally have taken occasion to inquire of someone the meaning of these (to him new) runes and thus come into possession of that knowledge.

Our investigation of the runic characters has, then, lead us to a particular Swedish province among the people of which the knowledge of runes has been preserved down to recent times.

The correctness of these results now finds most convincing collateral proof in the peculiar language of the inscription. While the word forms are modern, the narrative is neither in literary Swedish, nor chiefly Swedish mixed with Danish or Norwegian and English words, as hitherto supposed.[42]

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[39] On the survival of the rune see Köbke, pp. 83-84.

[40] See above page 113.

[41] As near Stockholm, at Upsala, in Helsingland and elsewhere.

[42] *From, ded* and *mans* have been supposed to be English; the final rune in *illu*, not having been identified, one writes as English *ill: läger, hem* and *göter* e. g. are literally Swedish, while *rise* is again by one writer regarded as the Danish *reise* with English spelling

It becomes quite unnecessary to assume such a mixture. *The inscription is written in Swedish dialect. The forms and words and meanings and all point to the dialect of the locality where the peculiar runic alphabet employed has already directed us.* (See now the transcription and the table of old and modern forms on the opposite page.) The inflexional forms suggest rather Norwegian *vi har, vi var, vi kom, vi fandt*, than Swedish *vi hafva, vi voro, vi kommo, vi funno*. But there is no such difference, of course, in the dialectal speech of the contiguous dialects of the two countries. Here the language merges under the shorter levelled forms in the verb. Furthermore, large portions of western Sweden, viz: Härjedalen, part of Dalarne, Jämtland and Bohuslän were originally Norwegian territory, ethnically and politically, and is today linguistically more Norwegian than Swedish.* The shorter verb forms of the Kensington inscription are the regular Dalarne forms: *vi fan, vi kom, vi har, vi had*, while the preterite of *var* is *va*. (See Noreen's *Dalbymålets Ljud ock Böjningslära*, Stockholm, 1879, pp. 54, 56, 58 and 61.) Further, the preposition *fra* is here *fro*, and up = *op;* the literary Swedish demonstrative *denne* or *denna* (Nom. *denne*) is here *dene* with one *n* (See Noreen, *Dalbymålet*, page 53). The form *ded* is simply the dialectal *ded* or *daed*, according to the change of *ö* to *e* which has taken place in Orsa and the neighboring part of Mora in Dalarne. (Noreen's *Inledning til Dalmålet*, pp. 8-9.

The Dialect of the Kensington Inscription.

[Göter ok 22 Norremn po opdagelsefærd fro Vinland of vest. Vi hade læger ved 2 skjær en dags rise norr fro deno sten. Vi var po fiske en dagh; æptir vi kom hem fan 10 man röde af blod og ded. A. V. M. fraelse af illu.

Har 10 mans ve havet at se æptir vore skip 14 dagh rise from deno öh ahr 1362.

8 Swedes and 22 Norwegians on an exploring expedition from Vinland west. We camped over night by 2 skerries a day's journey north from this stone. We were a-fishing one day; after we came home found 10 men red with blood and dead. A. V. M. Save from evil.

Have 10 men by the ocean to look after our ships 14 days' journey from this island. Year 1362.]

The Modern Forms.		
Kensington Inscription.	Dialect of Dalarne, Sweden.	The Old Forms of 1362.
vi hade	vi hade (had)	vi haffdhom
vi kom	vi kom	vi komom
(vi) fan	vi fan	vi funnum
(vi) var	vi var (va)	vi varom
(vi) har	vi har	vi havom
se æptir vore skip	se ætter vor (e) skip	se æptir varom skipum
fro deno sten	fro dene sten	fra thæssom sten
from deno öh	fro dene ö	fra thæssi ö
en dags rise	en dags resa	en daghs færdh
po fiske	po fiske	a fiski
ded	ded (Orsa locality)	dödh
fraelse af illu	fræls fro illu[43]	fræls fra illu
op	op	up
of	o' (= of), ov	af
fro	fro	fra, (*fran*)

The change of *ö* to *e* or *ae* is one of the striking vocalic characteristics of these regions, thus *dör* becomes *der* in Älfros in Härjedalen, *hort* and *kört* become *haert* and *kjaert* in Jämtland (see *Svenska Landsmålen*, 59, page 72), *dö* *dae* in Älfdal and *daeia* in Mora. Here also we find the explanation of

* The districts named became Swedish territory politically in the seventeenth century.

[43] See discussion, page 118.

the vowel in the preposition *of* which looks old, but which is the regular form in many Swedish dialects today, the vowel being very slightly more closed than in the corresponding English preposition. Phonetically it would be written åv, our scribe not finding it necessary to use two runes for so closely similar sounds wrote *of* a principal which he also followed in *po*[44] and *fro*, where we have the same vowel sound.[45] The preposition 'from' is merely the dialectal *fro*,[46] but having observed the Middle Swedish preposition *fram* in some old book the author thought he would give it an ancient look by adding an *m*, the result being a hybrid which is equally impossible for both Old Swedish and the modern language. The plural *man* in the second part of the inscription is clearly the colloquial use of a singular with numerals with collective function, as *vi har ti man*, which is the only way a Swede would say it; the *s* can only be accounted for as an error. The word *opdagelse*, which is Norwegian (Swedish *upptäckt*) is to be explained as an example of language mixture in the Douglas County settlement.*

Finally, the expression *fraelse af illu*, which has seemed so troublesome is taken from the Lord's Prayer in the dialect. In *Historia Lingvae Dalecarliae*, Uppsaliae, 1773, page seven, the Lord's Prayer is given in its dialect form for Älfdal, Mora and Orso. In the first of these the words are *loss fra vonda*, in Orsa they are *fraels fra vandu*, in the Mora dialect *faels fra illu*.[47]

The final vowel *o* in the demonstrative *deno*, which occurs twice in the inscription, is merely an effort at giving an old look to the word. Had the author observed more intelligently the old forms of the books he had he would not have committed such an error as to use a neuter demonstrative form with a masculine (*sten*) and a feminine (*öh*) noun.

The dialectal forms and words of the inscription then point to the region of Orsa and Mora as the locality from which the author of the Kensington inscription immigrated. At the same time it may be added that the contracted verb forms and the phonological characteristics the inscription exhibits are more or less common also in the neighboring districts, north, east and south; yet the author must have come from somewhere near Mora or Orsa. But this at the same time gives us a definite period *a quo* for the inscription. The old dative endings *-um* in noun and adjective remained in these and other Dalarne regions until the nineteenth century. This is the last fact therefore that the linguistic analysis yields. However, the date of the inscription may safely be set down as nearer the end of the century than the beginning, probably between 1880 and 1890.

So far we have been dealing with the tangible concrete facts of the case. The moment we turn aside from the inscription itself and ask ourselves the question: then how could the stone have gotten there? what is its origin? we are on very uncertain ground. All sorts of conjecture is possible. We are then dealing with the puzzle in the situation. If one is weak on the side of facts, but has a strong imagination, as some who have discussed this question seem to have, one can build up a form of belief on the basis of things imagined. One may even, it seems, believe that the inscription is authentic in spite of the irrefutable facts of the case to the contrary. But these phases of the question that engage the imagination have no scientific value to the archeologist or the philologist. All that he as a scientist is concerned with are the facts which prove or disprove the authenticity of the inscription. For him the stone, proved a forgery, has no further interest.

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[44] The reader may be referred to Noreen's *Fryksdalsmålets Ljudlära,* Upsala, 1877, and *Ordlista öfver Dalmålet.*

[45] The dialectal phonology also furnishes us the key for the use of the same rune for *a* and æ but there is hardly any need of going into that here.

[46] While it is possible that *from* in the inscription is the English 'from,' the author's cleverness in other respects precludes our attributing to him such a piece of stupidity.

* Also see above page 116. Barring Bohuslän the territory is today linguistically North Scandinavian, that is Norwegian, as opposed to South Scandinavian (Denmark and southern Sweden), East Scandinavian (Gothland and other nearby Isles) and Middle Scandinavian (Swedish proper).

[47] The use of the preposition *of* instead of *fra* is clearly an antiquarian effort.

The record of archeological fakes is a long one. Here in America, too, the scientist has more than once had forced upon him the fact of the fraudulent character of reported archeological finds. Western Minnesota, the Red River Valley especially, appears to have been a fertile field for the exploitation of similar frauds. The petrified man of Warren, as being evidently the petrified remains of a European white from pre-Columbian times, netted a handsome profit to the two owners, until they became involved in litigation, when it was revealed though sworn testimony in court that the "petrified man" had been manufactured by a Lucas O'Brien of Crookston, Minnesota.[48]

The Elbow Lake rune stone was much heard of a year ago; its runes were so much decayed with the age of the stone that they could no longer be read. It was evidently of the same age of the Kensington stone it was said. But a geological examination of the stone itself proved it to be petrified clay of recent date. Now a philological test of the Kensington inscription has proved, as we hope for all time, that it, too, belongs in a class with the two above finds.

But the question is again asked, What is the origin of the Kensington stone?—for the veracity of the finder is not doubted. There are witnesses to the fact that it was found (see *Symra*, VII, pp. 180-84) and the weathering of the stone shows age. All of that, however, was also true of the Elbow Lake stone—it was badly weathered, there was no doubt that it was found and the finder was honest enough.

To get at the exact facts in the case of the Kensington riddle is no longer an easy matter. The accounts heard and read are already assuming a legendary character and new accretions appear with every new account. It was first reported that the asp under discussion was a small one; later we are told it was a "large tree" (*Harper's Weekly* article cited above), which to begin with was a very significant discrepancy. Then there appear exact figures; some believed the tree was "over five inches thick," others said "seven or eight," and again that it was "eight to ten inches." Then in a published account it was set down as an established fact that the asp was "eight to ten inches thick." Again we are told that the age of the tree had been definitely ascertained to be "twenty-eight years," but in spite of the fact that here there was evidently an established fact, the tree continued to age with most remarkable rapidity. In an article written a few months later we are told that the tree was "forty years old" and those whose attitude was that of wanting to be convinced of the authenticity of the find began to doubt. Further, it was said, that locality had not been settled before 1873, hence, if the tree were forty years old it and the stone must have been there fifteen years before the first settler arrived. But if the tree were twenty-eight years old the question assumes a somewhat different aspect, especially when we learn that that locality began to be settled in 1865, and had been visited by white men long before that.

Then we are told that the finder evinced no interest in the stone, that he presented it to the one who later appears as its owner; but again, we learn that the price was $7.50 or $10.00, which surely was no large sum. But this, too, is evidently legendary, for now we learn that just where the proprietary right in the stone lies is disputed. Finally the statement that the stone had been purchased by the Minnesota Historical Society for $1.000 has been officially repudiated,[49] etc., etc.[50]

With a view to examining the stone again and making my own transcription of the runes, and also to visit the locality where the stone was found. I went to St. Paul and out to Kensington April 14-19th. In St. Paul I was especially urged by a member of the Historical Society to see Mr. Samuel Olson[51] as one who was disinterested, knew the facts, and was in every way level headed and intelligent. I was also, for similar reasons, asked to

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[48] Who removed to California in 1905.
[49] See *Amerika*, Febr., 1910.
[50] That the language of the inscription is in perfect accord with that of the 14th century (*Harper's Weekly*, cit.) is also a part of the legend.
[51] See above, page 107.

see Mr. Peterson.[52] I did so. From St. Paul I took with me a witness and at Kensington I engaged Mr. Peterson to take us out to Mr. Ohman's farm. We spoke with Ohman, visited the site of the find and saw something of its environs. I had previously written Mr. Ohman and received in answer a hearty invitation[53] to come. When we arrived he received us cordially. Mr. Ohman spoke Swedish dialect, he told me he immigrated from North Helsingland in 1879. His language also suggested that in the locality Swedish and Norwegian have been contaminated somewhat, as indeed could not help being the result in a community where the two nationalities are represented in considerable numbers and about equality. Mr. Peterson did not discuss the subject very freely, seemed not to wish to commit himself on specific points, probably because he did not remember clearly enough. He told us, however, of various local rumors. Mr. Ohman impressed me as honest; he was very much interested in the stone and in learning what I thought of the inscription. He had seen the *Forsa Ring* inscription in Helsingland before immigrating, but he disclaimed emphatically any ability at cutting runes. He pointed out a tree which he said was about the size of the one under which he had found the stone. It might have been seven or eight inches thick and stood in a cluster with other chiefly young trees, most of it being very young shoots of asp.[54]

Later I had a visit of about four hours with Mr. Samuel Olson, the jeweler. He was one of the men who, the next spring, excavated to a depth of six or seven feet where the stone was found, believing that there might be a treasure hidden there. There was no other stone of any kind in the ground below (see above page four). I learn further that the stump was preserved for some time; Mr. Olson saw it, examined it, remembers it distinctly as it lay there sawed off to a length of about twelve inches. Mr. Olson says regarding its thickness it was "about four inches;" and when I asked him to think it over very carefully and to measure off four inches on a table across the room and mentally make a comparison with the stump he did so, finally concluding: "*it wasn't more than four inches anyway.*" Now a rapid-growing asp may shoot up to a thickness of four inches in eight or ten years, I am told by those who are supposed to know, and it should under no circumstances require more than twelve or thirteen.[55] But, as that region was settled in 1865, the tree would seem to be later by twenty years, at least, than the first settling of the locality. In fact, the tree may have grown up since (been planted as late as) 1889.

Then there is the legend of the skerries and the island. Here, it is said, are convincing proofs of the truth of the narrative, for the skerries have been found and that part of Minnesota was under water not many centuries since![56] This sounds strange indeed to the layman who has at least little knowledge of the physiography of that region. What does one with expert knowledge say to such a seemingly strange tale? "That it would be absolutely safe to put 1,000 years back as the nearest possible date when that part of Minnesota was under water to such an extent that those hills would have been islands."[57] We can imagine the Kensington runemaster's satisfaction with his own shrewdness at hitting upon this external corroboration of the date he chose to affix to his narrative. It has perhaps never occurred to the Committee that our practical joker may have chosen to designate a hill in a forest by the term 'island,' which is neither ancient nor rare.

But he was fertile in invention, our Minnesota runemaster! There are a score of lakes in that part of Minnesota to the north of Kensington. To

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[52] Proprietor of one of the local livery stables.

[53] The letter was written in good Swedish, both as to spelling and choice of words. I later learn that the letter was not written by Mr. Ohman, but probably by his son.

[54] According to the "legend," however, the stone was found on a hill heavily covered with tall timber (a veritable primeval forest we see.)

[55] A friend of mine has a poplar thirty years old that is ten inches thick. In the case of a *hickory* forty-eight years old the thickness was found to be 10½ inches.

[56] So several advocates of the stone.

[57] His further statement is "Western Minnesota was under water once but that was thousands of years ago." The answer comes from a present member of the faculty of one of our largest universities.

say that his imaginary explorers had stopped by two skerries a day's march north was another capital idea; it added a touch of realism that should be conclusive. And it was a perfectly safe thing to say, for skerries there undoubtedly are a-plenty in all that lake region. If the author of the inscription is still living we can imagine how he is enjoying the spectacle of the search for the skerries. And now the skerries have been found also, somewhere on the shores of Pelican Lake! However, only two of these lakes have been examined, I am told. But, there are more than twenty other lakes to the north of Kensington in Douglas, Ottertail and Becker counties.[58] I would suggest that the shores of all these lakes be most carefully examined; perhaps those discovered are the wrong skerries.

The discovery of these skerries, however, involves the runemaster in a very serious difficulty. Pelican Lake, I learn, is about sixty-five miles north from the site of the rune stone. Now that was no doubt a good march to make in one day for a company of twenty men through a region enchained with lakes. But ten of their number had just been killed by Indians, and they would of course have fled with all possible speed. But if sixty-five miles registers their capacity for the day, how reach the Atlantic Ocean in fourteen days?[59]—and in that time and under those circumstances? And they were exploring the country, too!

The local rumors at Kensington and the country about are many. It may, first of all, be said that few seem to take it seriously, but they vary in the explanations offered. Some hold the view that the stone was brought from elsewhere recently and placed in under the roots of the tree, or that the stone and tree were planted at the same time. The stone being fitted in between the roots as the tree was planted, the roots in their growth would of course have followed its damp surface. Some go as far as to name Mr. Ohman himself as the one who planted the stone there (or the stone and the tree). But the tree being so young it is not necessary to assume that the tree was planted, and Ohman denies planting the tree.

Again it is learned that a Dane of some education who had come to America and to Hudson Bay in one of the Hudson Fur Company's trading vessels visited that region about eighty years ago. *He* may be the author of the fraud. But the Swedish dialectal character of the words preclude that unless he brought the stone, or worked in collusion with a Swede. Now we know that Norwegians and Swedes occasionally came across in Dutch or English ships before the period of Scandinavian settlement—even in the eighteenth century. Further, we also learn that the Hudson Bay Company had its chief station at York Factory as late at 1859;[60] every summer ships came from London, by York boats—the journey was made along the Nelson River to Lake Winnepeg and down the Red River.[61] Early in the last century, we learn, French and English explorers came down the Red River as far as Lake Ottertail or about forty-two miles north of Kensington. At a later time, but before the settling of Douglas County, there was considerable shipping carried on over the Red River as the present settlers there, who came there as early as 1865, are said to remember. It is quite within the bounds of the possible that some Swede, a member of some of these early parties, could have fashioned the stone and cut the runes, provided he possessed the necessary skill at masonry.[62]

But the knowledge of runes and considerable ability at chiseling in stone were certainly among the accomplishments of the author of the inscription. Not everybody who knows runes could make them so perfect. Those who

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[58] Lake Charles, Ida, Christina and Milton, in Douglas County; Battle, Otter Tail, Rush, Dead, Lida, Lizzie, Pine and Pelican in Otter Tail County; Height-of-Land, Shell, Flat, Cotton, Round, Many Point, Elbow, White Earth, etc., in Becker.

[59] For the inscription *says* 14 days; To read forty-one would be convenient, but the inscription says 14.

[60] The Norwegian sailor, Jens Munk was, it seems, at York Factory on his visit to America in 1619.

[61] This fact is made the basis of an elaborate argument for the genuineness of the stone in *The Norwegian-American*, Northfield, Oct., 1909.

[62] More than one person, upon seeing the larger photograph of the stone have said to me: "That isn't old, the lines are too perfect; it looks as if it were the work of a skilled mason."

have believed in the authenticity of the rune stone have said it is well-nigh impossible that any of the early settlers there, or still earlier adventurers, should have possessed the requisite knowledge of runes. Now as a matter of scientific fact the lateness of the runes and the modern character of the language does prove that some sailor, traveller, adventurer, settler or someone has chiselled those runes in recent times. But even as circumstantial evidence the argument is already materially weakened by the fact that it has been shown that the practice of writing with runes survived in a portion of Sweden down to recent times. But it falls completely if it can be shown that at least two men versed in runes are associated with that locality.[63] And this fact is the last discovery.

One of these men was a certain Svend Fogelblad, a Swede, one time minister, examined from Upsala University. Becoming addicted to drink, he was expelled from the State Church; then he emigrated to America. He wandered west to Douglas County and was a well-known character around there for many years. He died in 1895, at the age of seventy. I have spoken with those who knew him and I have indirect reports from others who were acquainted with him. They tell me he knew runes, had books on runes and used to cut runes in various places with evident pride over the art. Asked about him Mr. Ohman said, yes, he had known him, he had been a guest at his house for a week once. From other sources I learn that he made his home with a man by the name of Andrew Anderson, a brother-in-law of Olof Ohman, and who owns a farm at Hoffman, Minnesota. Some people at Kensington associate Ohman and Fogelblad together in the manufacture of the rune stone. This rumor almost takes the form of conviction in the country east of Elbow Lake, where also Fogelblad was well-known and where Ohman once worked. Fogelblad was something of an adventurer and wandered about quite a bit and, as one might expect, had stored up a fund of strange narratives with which he would entertain people. One of these was *that Scandinavian explorers had visited that region hundreds of years ago.* This is certainly interesting in connection with the narrative of the Kensington inscription. And it is as certainly significant.* The other citizen of that locality who, it is testified, was versed in runes is none less than Olof Ohman himself. I found no evidence of the knowledge of this among the people of Kensington. At Kensington they say Ohman chiselled the runes but Fogelblad must have prepared the copy of the inscription for him to follow. Ohman came to Minnesota in June, 1879. Before his marriage he worked for farmers in various parts of Douglas County.[64] For three years he then worked mostly around Brandon[65] in the same county. In 1884 he returned to Helsingland, Sweden; coming back to America in 1886, he went to Portland, Oregon, where he remained six months. Thereupon he returned to Douglas County living for a time at Hoffman, the nearest station west of Kensington, the same year moving to Oscar Lake in the same county. In 1889, having married, he bought and moved to his present home near Kensington.

There has been current for some time a rumor at Elbow Lake of a Swede who worked near there thirty years ago who was versed in runes and used to cut runes into window casings and other objects and derived much amusement from being able to puzzle people with these strange characters. It had not been possible to verify it, or learn who this man was. A friend of mine, in whose ability to ferret it out I had confidence and who is acquainted at Elbow Lake, offered to investigate the rumor for me. That was on April seventeenth. On April twenty-fifth I received the following letter:

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[63] How many others we do not know.

* Since the above was in print I have learned that Andrew Anderson, like Fogelblad, was a student at Upsala University, but left the University in 1882, emigrated to America and settled at Hoffman. He is said to be well versed in Greek and Latin, in history and Swedish literature and like Fogelblad, possessed considerable knowledge of runes. Anderson brought with him to America a copy of Fryxell's work on runes, and found in the study of runes his favorite pastime. The latter fact I learn from a sketch of Anderson in *Amerika* for May 27, 1910.

[64] And the neighboring county to the west.

[65] About fifteen miles north of Mr. Ohman's present home.

Concerning Mr. Ohman, on whose farm the Kensington Rune Stone was found, and who was himself the finder, there seems to be a variety of opinions as to his ability or proficiency to be the author thereof. He himself disclaims any proficiency along that line. His word is generally regarded as good by most of his neighbors and acquaintances; and his whole bearing and conduct, according to one who lately called upon him, stamp him as one who seemingly would take no delight in maintaining as a truth something which he knew to be a positive falsehood. There is, however, another opinion held by many, whom are some of his oldest acquaintances in Douglas county. According to report he was a stone mason, who in his leisure moments would write "rune" figures on the window casings, granary walls, etc. When, therefore, the Kensington Rune Stone was later found on his farm, many doubted its authenticity on account of the fact mentioned above. Further, a grammar of "rune skrift" was found in Mr. Ohman's possession. This I know on positive authority. Questioned as to where he had it from, he stated it was given him by a minister. It seems that this minister, who it is reported, had lost caste, sojourned with Ohman for quite a while, and they were together a good deal in the various places where Mr. Ohman had work to do. This was (a) 35-40 years ago. The minister's name has been found to be Fogelblad.

The grammar, which contained a runic alphabet is now in the possession of Mr. N. H. Winchell, State Geologist and Curator of the Minnesota State Museum. He showed me the copy. In Fogelblad we recognized our defrocked minister of Kensington and Elbow Lake. Ohman, it has been said, says he has no knowledge of runes. To me he disclaimed "the ability to make such an inscription." But Ohman also denies having made the inscription. He volunteered a denial of that, evidently thinking that I knew that the suspicion is directed against him and his denial was very emphatic.[66] But the latter does not necessarily imply much, for such an emotional reaction would be about the same in the case of a man who is innocent and knows himself suspected as in the case of one who is guilty but is trying to conceal his guilt. And finally, relative to Mr. Fogelblad, Ohman denies emphatically that Fogelblad could have done it or would have done it. However, ——! Finally there comes from Brandon, Minnesota, information of similar nature. The source is Gunder Johnson, who lives near Brandon, and for whom Olof Ohman built a house about twenty-seven years ago. He says at that time the latter had cut some runes into a piece of wood to show him what kind of script they used in the Scandinavian countries in olden times. When Ohman was asked about this he answered he could not remember, but also that he would not absolutely deny that he had done it.

From Anderson comes the information that he, Fogelblad and Ohman would often sit studying and discussing runes, presumably from Fryxell and the runic book or books Fogelblad and Anderson had.

With this fact I shall leave the problem to the imagination of the reader.

The Kensington runic inscription is a recent forgery. While the present writer has from the first time he saw the inscription never had any doubt upon this point, he has entered into a somewhat detailed discussion from a more popular point of view in order that the layman also should no longer be deceived. He feels that the public should know the truth at once as the truth is. He feels that in such cases the scientist owes this service to the public. The Kensington rune stone will claim the attention of archeologists or historians no longer. Proved a forgery as it now has been, the public surely will no longer countenance it. We Scandinavians, least of all, should tolerate the injection of such a fraud into the history of the pre-Columbian

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[66] I had not indicated in any way that I knew this suspicion. There were, however, two other persons present and one of these he knew had knowledge of it.

discovery of America by the Norseman. That discovery is an established fact and the record of it has long held an adorned place in American history.[67]

The only interest that the Kensington rune stone will have to the scholar in the future is that it adds one more chapter to the already long list of fraudulent inscriptions in modern times. The number of faked runic inscriptions in modern times is indeed considerable. For a partial list the interested reader may be referred to Liljegren's *Runlära*, page 215. The difference between most of these and the Kensington inscription is, however, that the latter is written in a modern dialect with only minor attempts at archaic forms. In the earlier instances there was a consistent effort at reproducing the language of an earlier time. In each case failure somewhere to accomplish this furnished the means for detecting the fraud. Our runemaster, not having even an elementary knowledge of fourteenth century Swedish, chose to employ his own dialect; but he was clever enough to embody elements (as the island, the skerries, the numeric system used and a most apt date, 1362) into his narrative which were calculated to puzzle one though they might not long deceive. And the stone was planted, later to be discovered. That he succeeded in puzzling people is certain. For twelve years he has deceived many into the belief that the inscription is an authentic document of American history. Though linguistically a clumsy piece of work, it was in many respects cleverly done and will deserve a place in the record of archeological frauds with the Cardiff Giant and the Dwighton Rock.

Appendix.

At a meeting of the Philological Society of the University of Illinois, early in April last, it was voted that a committee of seven be appointed to examine into the language and the runes of the Kensington inscription with a view to determining its claims to authenticity. The committee appointed consisted of the following members: Dr. Julius E. Goebel, chairman of the Society, Professor of German; Dr. D. K. Dodge, Professor of English; Dr. C. N. Greenough, Professor of English; Dr. L. M. Larson, Assistant Professor of History; Dr. H. S. V. Jones, Associate in English; Dr. Josef Wiehr, Instructor in German, and Dr. George T. Flom, Assistant Professor of Scandinavian Languages. On May third the committee held a double session, afternoon and evening. The writer presented the above report in full and many new points were brought up and every phase of the question was weighed. The finding of the committee will later be reported to the Society and embodied in its minutes. I am, however, now authorized to announce and publish that the verdict of the committee is that the Kensington inscription can not be from 1362, (1) because of the absence of the inflexions of the language as spoken at the time, and, (2) because it does not exhibit the runic series of the time, further it must be recent because the identification of the language with a modern Swedish dialect has been conclusively proved in the paper. The committee's finding is therefore (1) that the inscription is a forgery and (2) that its manufacture is recent. In seeking a cause for the fraud several members of the committee expressed the view that it had its origin in the extensive discussion of the Vinland voyages which took place in the late seventies and the early eighties.

It may be added that each member of the committee was specifically selected because of his philological knowledge of Old Norse.

Some subsequent publications on the Kensington Stone are as follows: *The Kensington Rune Stone. Preliminary Report to the Minnesota Historical Society, by its Museum Committee*, St. Paul, 1910. In an Appendix on "Professor Flom's Investigation" the committee attempts to refute some of Prof. Flom's arguments, failing again to appreciate the phonological and

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[67] The appeal to our loyalty to nationality that was recently made in a letter in *Scandinaven* (May 18, 1910, page 12), is as unscholarly as it is dishonest. Only he who is ignorant, or worse, will be misled by that. The appeal itself is a sad commentary upon him who gave expression to it. This is not a matter of loyalty; it is a question of truth!

runological difficulties involved. The *Report* has since been adversely reviewed by several scholars. In the summer of 1911, Mr. Holand took the stone to Scandinavia. At a public lecture in Christiania Prof. Hægstad stamped the inscription as a recent forgery. Upon his return to America, Mr. Holand lectured on the stone and has in numerous newspaper articles defended its authenticity, saying only one Scandinavian scholar had committed himself. However in September, 1911, the stone was officially judged a fraud by a committee at Christiania University composed of Professors Alexander Bugge (Historian), Magnus Olsen (Runologist) and Gustafson (Geologist), "upholding," as one writes, "Professor Flom's view on every disputed point." Prof. J. E. Olson has since had an article in *Minneapolis Tidende* on the question of the author of the fraud, and O. A. Linder in *Svensk-Amerikanska Kalendern*, 1912, an article on Svend Fogelblad, tending to show he was the author. An article in *Minneapolis Tidende*, Nov. 9, 1911, discussed briefly the report of the Minnesota Historical Society and printed letters from Dr. Verner Dahlerup and Prof. Finnur Jonsson (Copenhagen), Prof. Axel Kock, Lund, Sweden, Dr. Oscar Montelius, Stockholm, Prof. M. Hægstad and Dr. F. G. Cade, Christiania, which show that these scholars in conversation with Mr. Holand all pronounced the inscription a fraud.

PART III.

Contributions to State History.

LA SALLE A VICTIM TO HIS ERROR IN LONGITUDE.

(By J. F. Steward.)

A study of the early maps of the interior of North America shows that latitudes, although often varying from the truth, were far more correctly given than the longitudes. Such facts are no more than could have been expected, as instruments and tables seldom formed a part of the explorer's outfits. La Salle carried an astrolabe, but there is little proof that he used it correctly.

Among the reports left by him is a fragment reproduced in Margry (Decouvertes des Francais dans De L'Amerique) of which the following is practically a literal translation:[1]

"Detached leaf, without beginning or end.

—— neighbors of the Cisca and their allies as well as Sicaca.

The Chucagoa, which means in their language the Big River, as Mississippi in the Outaouas and the Masciccippi in Illinois is the river which we call the Saint Louis. The Ohio River [also known to La Salle as the Saint Louis] is one of its branches, which receives two other very considerable ones before emptying into the Saint Louis, to wit: Agouassaki [the Wabash of our day] to the north and the Chaouesnon [the Tennessee of today] to the South.

The Takahagane live on the north shore of the Chucagoa about the 32d degree of latitude north; the Cicaca [live] in the lands at about 30½ degrees to the south of the same river, almost north and south of the mouth of the river of the Illinois on the Colbert river (that is about 39 degrees of longitude to the west of the Isle Persée) seventeen days up the river, estimating days journey at seven or eight leagues, the one with the other, the route [up the river] varying about east northeast.[2]

The Kaskias [Kaskaskias?] are found on their island [in the Illinois River, their old home] of which there remain only a few, the Iroquois having almost destroyed them [when Tonty was there] or obliged them to flee.

The Tchatakes on the north bank of the same [?] river, about the 34th degree of the north pole, [north latitude]. This river [the Chucagoa] is much wider in its whole length than the Colbert [the Mississippi] River. I have not descended it far.[3]

The Apalachites, a people of English Florida, are not far distant from one of its [the Chucagoa's] most eastern branches because they are in war with Tchatake and the Cisca, one of whose villages they once burned, being aided by the English. The Ciscas then left their former villages which were much more to the East than those from which they came here, although that river flows from East to West, and consequently it seems that it must empty into

[1] The translation has been found very difficult, in places, the intended meaning of the writer seems not well expressed. My interpretations of his intentions I have attempted to make clear by insertion of the phrases and sentences found placed in brackets.

[2] Here, evidently, began La Salle's great error.

[3] This statement seems to indicate that on his earlier journey he had descended the Ohio at least as far as the entrance of the two rivers he mentions, but not to its mouth, as some have supposed. He believed the Ohio to be the Chucagoa and that the distance from the point he reached to the Gulf must be great, and hence he considered that he had not descended it far.

or join the Colbert [the Mississippi] River, from which the Takahagane, who live on the shore of the Chucagoa, are distant only three days from the Mississippi, where we saw some when [we were] going down and coming up.

I cannot really say [however] whether the two rivers join;[4] 1st because assuredly the account of Fernand Soto is not a chimera, the name of the river and of all those nations which inhabit it conforming to what is said, as well as the great number of savages of Mauvila, or, as the savages pronounce it, of Maouila, where he had such a bloody combat, and there would be no sense in what is there reported, of the prodigious number of boats which pursued the people in their retreat, the banks of the Mississippi never having been in a condition to be more populous than they are because nearly all that is not inhabited is subject to almost continual inundation, and has never been more so. Moreover, the names of Quiqualthango and of Anilco are as unknown in the Colbert as those of the Coroa, Natche, Omma, Taensa, Ikouera, Tounica, Yazou, Tiou, Ouasita, Mahehoualaima, Kinipissa, Tchouchouma and Tanjihao, who live there, were unknown to the people of Soto. Moreover, that prodigious width which they attribute to the channel of the Chucagoa, so that from the middle they were not able to discern if what they saw on the shore were trees or merely reeds, several days before arriving at its mouth, has no connection with the size of the Mississippi, which is scarcely wider than the Loire even where it [the latter] empties into the sea.[5] The time which they required to go to Mexico has still less probability, the mouth of the Mississippi not being so far distant from it [Mexico] since we saw a coat of mail, two muskets and Spanish swords in the hands of the chiefs of two savage villages, the one situated at 28 degrees or about latitude north and the other at 30 degrees, who gave us to understand that they had seen bearded men like ourselves who, they represented, were in the southwest, with whom, they said, they were at war. Moreover all the maps are worth nothing or *the mouth of the Colbert River is near Mexico.* 2d. Because its mouths are to the East-Southeast and not to the South, and all the southern coast of Florida shows, with the exception of the one which runs from the river called in the maps Escondido to the Panuco. *This Escondido is surely Mississippi.* 3d. There is only one place on all the coast of Florida [that would correspond with the latitude] of the remainder of the South coast [the latter] being almost everywhere at the 30th degree.[6] There is only the cape of Florida, but that cannot be [the place of emboucheure of the Mississippi] because there is not sufficient width from the East to the West for the extent of country; the Colbert River flows constantly towards the East or at most to the South-East, making this route at least one hundred and twenty leagues from the 30th to the 27th degree, where it discharges into the sea, which is impossible in the width of the cape of Florida and just the route of Escondido. It is that which makes me maintain that we were near

[4] See pp. 471-473, Shipp's De Soto and Florida, where we find as follows: "When our men observed that the Indians were no longer in their rear, they the more readily believed that they were approaching the sea, as the Chucagoa began to be about fifteen leagues wide, so that they could not discover land on either side. They saw towards the borders of this river, only a number of reeds so high that it seemed that they might have been trees; and perhaps their vision did not deceive them. But they would no farther enlighten themselves on the subject for fear lest, quitting the current, they might strike on some sand-bank; and besides, no one yet knew whether they were at sea, or really upon the Chucagoa. In this uncertainty our men rowed three days, very successfully; and the fourth, in the morning, they plainly descried the sea, and saw to their left a multitude of trees heaped up one upon the other which the river, at high water, bore to the sea. And this mass of wood appeared a great island."

* * * * * * * * * *

"When the Indian approached the caravel near enough, he placed himself on the prow of his vessel, and in a voice full of haughtiness told the Spaniards, according to what the interpreter asserted, that they were robbers; what did they come to seek upon the coast; and that they should leave it in haste, by one of the mouths of the Chucagoa; otherwise he would burn their brigantines and put them all to a miserable death."

[5] While the Spanish maps did not show the mouth of any river that might be considered to be the Mississippi's, its delta extending to 27 degrees, North latitude, as La Salle estimated with no degree of certainty, they did show the Escondido as flowing in the same general direction and its mouth at substantially the same latitude as the delta of the Mississippi.

[6] See Franquelin's map of that portion of the Mississippi which, evidently, was drawn from La Salle's descriptions.

Mexico, and consequently in another river than the Chucagoa, from where the Spaniards were so long on the way before arriving in Mexico. Moreover, Fernand Soto went on horse back and often went along the bank of the Chucagoa. That is impossible in all the length of the Mississippi, where the density of growth of the canes is such everywhere that it makes the passage very difficult for man on foot, and one has to use his hands to get along. They are inaccessible to horses. Often Fernand Soto had difficulty in finding landing places for the great height of the slope of the banks. Those of the Mississippi are everywhere low and often covered with water. Moreover, what makes me believe that Chucagoa is different from Mississippi and that it goes along side by side with it, is that from the East of the Mississippi no considerable [river] is discharged while from the West some very large ones empty, from which [fact] I have always conjectured there must be, to the East some other great river where all of the waters of that side are emptied. In truth, when one has traveled a day or two in the woods all the streams and rivers which one finds descends towards the East and not one towards the Mississippi. Again, as soon as we had reached the height of 31 degrees, all the savages who go to make salt at the sea, always were representing it [the sea] to us as to the East, and we saw every morning the mists of the sea rise and come from the East to the West, even against the wind. They were the vapors of the coast of the bay of Saint Esprit [Mobile Bay] and of the sea which is between Escondido, Rio de Pescadores, and the said Bay which goes from the Northeast to Southwest in passing. [I] do not doubt at all that there is flux and reflux [ebb and flow] on the northern coast of Mexico, since in the great overflow of waters it makes it enter perceptibly into the Mississippi for more than sixty leagues into the land, and in the stay which we made at the sea the little bays which are between the three mouths of the eastern channel of the Mississippi, each from three to four leagues wide and five or six long, were uncovered regularly at low tide, so that we could hunt on foot on the mud, and were all covered with water at high tide, and there was a depth at the edge of from five to six feet, according to the height of the land, although the wind was sometimes from the South or the Southwest and every night from the Northwest, contrary to what you informed me is certain that the winds, in the Gulf, always blow from the South in summer. I assure you that on that coast, at least, in the month of August, it is sometimes from the North, from the east and from the Northwest.

I have, without thinking, made this digression with reference to this river, although others have told me that Chucagoa empties into Mississippi, which may be possible, although we have not seen the confluent, because, above the village of the Acansas there is one big island or rather several, which are sixty or eighty leagues in extent. We took the Western channel in descending and as we had left with the Acansas all our equipage it was necessary to take the same channel in ascending so that it [must] be true that it had its mouth at that other channel without the Mississippi growing wide, its channel not changing its width at all, by the meeting of four other great rivers as considerable as the Chucagoa, which empty into the Mississippi from the direction of the setting sun.

The coming of the Ciscas and Chaouenon was followed by the return of the Islinois, Peoueria, Kaskaskia, Moingoana, Tapouero, Coiracoentanon, Chinkoa, Chepoussea, Maroa, Kaockia and Tamaroa. All these nations were included under the name of Ilinois, because they are allied and there were several families of each one in the village of the Kaskaskia (who are the genuine Ilinois) although they have their villages separated and distant, one from the other, more than one hundred leagues. That of the Tamaroas alone is composed of three hundred cabins. Now all these nations join and come to establish themselves here. The village of Matchinkoa, of three hundred fires (each fire of two families) is thirty leagues from the fort where a part of the Emissourites come, the Peanchichia, Kolatica, Megancockia, Melome-

linoia, who, altogether make a village of from two to three hundred fires, have cultivated fields four leagues from the fort. The Oiatenon, to the number of thirty-five cabins, have gone there at present, having departed with me from their villages. Also several of the nations have given me children to be reared in the French manner. There are some already who speak French and who are from the most distant nations. They will be very fit to serve there as interpreters and to make peace. I have one from the nation of the Pana who live more than two hundred leagues to the West, on one of the branches of the Mississippi, and inhabit two villages, one near the other. They are neighbors and allies of the Gattacka and Manrhoat, who are to the South of their villages and who sell them horses which apparently they steal from the Spanish of New Mexico. These horses, as I hope, will be of much use to us. These savages who make use of them in war, in the hunt and in transporting everything, have not the custom of stabling them, leave them outside, even in the snow, and give no other food except to allow them to graze. These kinds of horses must be of great endurance and very strong because, it is said, they are able to carry the meat of two buffalo, which weighs nearly a thousand pounds for the two. What makes me believe that they get these horses from the Spaniards, is, that, although they are quite naked, they employ, when they go on horseback, a hat of tanned leather which they make themselves, in imitation of the Spaniards whom they saw wearing their big leather hats. This little Pana, aged sixteen or seventeen years and who understands French, says that there are in his country some stones which I believe turquois. I have a similar one; but he informs me of another piece of news, of which I am very glad; it is, that he saw the pilot of the bark which was lost in the lake of the Islinois, and one of the sailors which he describes with marks so peculiar that I cannot doubt, who were taken with their four comrades in the Mississippi River, in going up to the Nadouessiou in their bark canoes; that the four others were killed and eaten, which the pilot avoided by firing one of the grenades which they had robbed from the boat and making them believe that if they would grant life to him and to his comrade he would destroy with such things the villages of enemies of those who had taken him. These savages led away, the following springtime, the Frenchmen to the village of the Missourites, where they came to treat for peace, and the pilot, at their request, let a granade go off in the presence of the little Pana who was then there. The scoundrels must have taken the plan advised by my enemies to sink the boat, and go away by the Mississippi to join Du Luth, who was at the Nadouessiou, after having taken the best of the goods which were in it to trade for beaver skins and to return to the Bay of the North [Hudson Bay] if the business succeeded badly. That is all the more probable as the said La Riviere de Tours, who had deserted me to follow the said Du Luth, was in the bark where I had left him after having retaken him. They could not have taken that route without having passed through the house of the Jesuits of the Baye, who have always acted ignorantly about it and wished—

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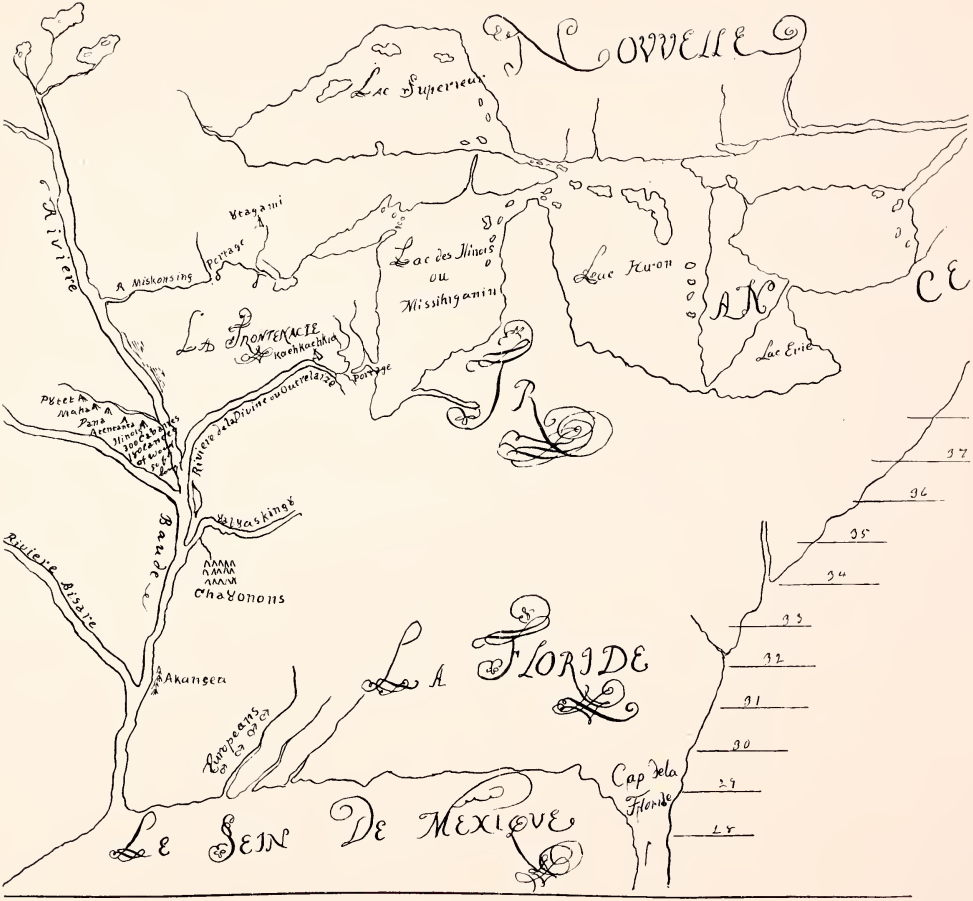

Joliet's map of 1674.

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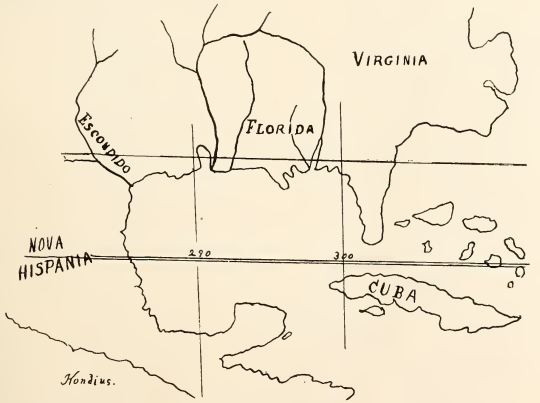
gulf that could, with certainty, be considered to be the Mississippi. La Salle, it seems evident, did not take kindly to Joliet, one of whose maps, with lakes of angular form and scalloped coasts, I here reproduce:

This map has been well studied by Gabriel Gravier and is shown by him to have been drawn in 1674. It and perhaps others of the several drawn by Joliet, was quite likely before La Salle when he was attempting to show Joliet's errors, and when criticising the direction the Illinois River is shown to flow in entering the Mississippi.

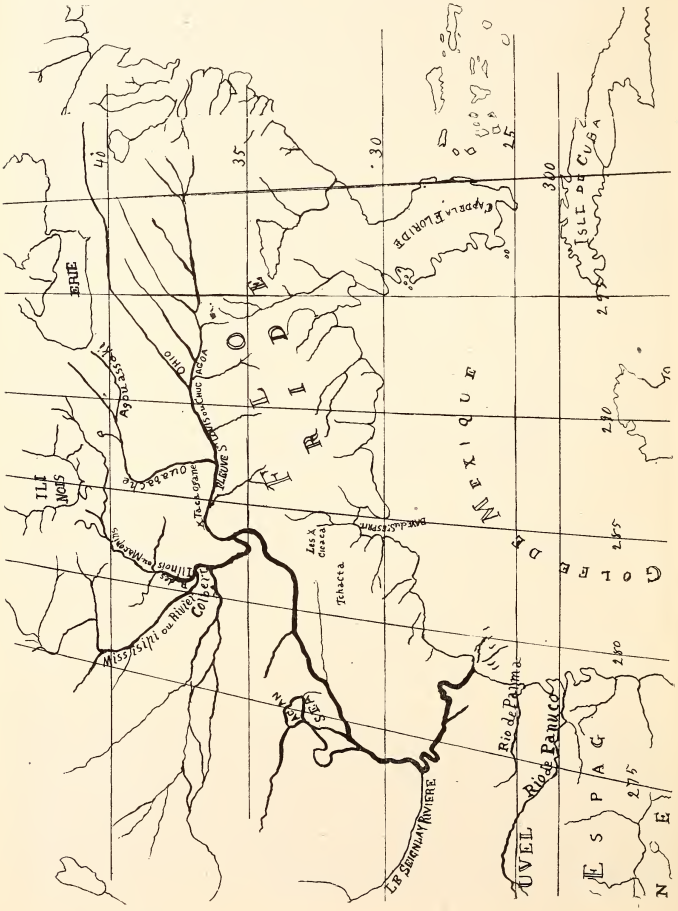
No map of the many in the writer's collection, or out of it as far as he has seen, shows the great river as entering the Vermillion Sea (the Gulf of California) or the Pacific Ocean; yet there were vague notions that somehow the river might have escaped the Gulf of Mexico. If La Salle had ever taken any stock in Joliet he cast it aside after reaching the Gulf, having found, as he states, that the river which carried him flowed so great a distance south-southeast before reaching its mouth, instead of dropping squarely into the sea. He must have consulted some of the maps before going and we know that he consulted many after his return. La Salle had seen with his own eyes what others had failed to recognize and upon his return from the expedition of 1682 gave to Franquelin his interpretation of his discoveries. The river's general course deviates, in fact, but little from that shown by the map of Joliet, but as given to Franquelin, a little distance below the mouth of the Ohio it began to drift westward, finally terminating in that of the Escondido of the Spanish maps, now known as the Rio Grande, and as shown in the map of Hondius here reproduced:



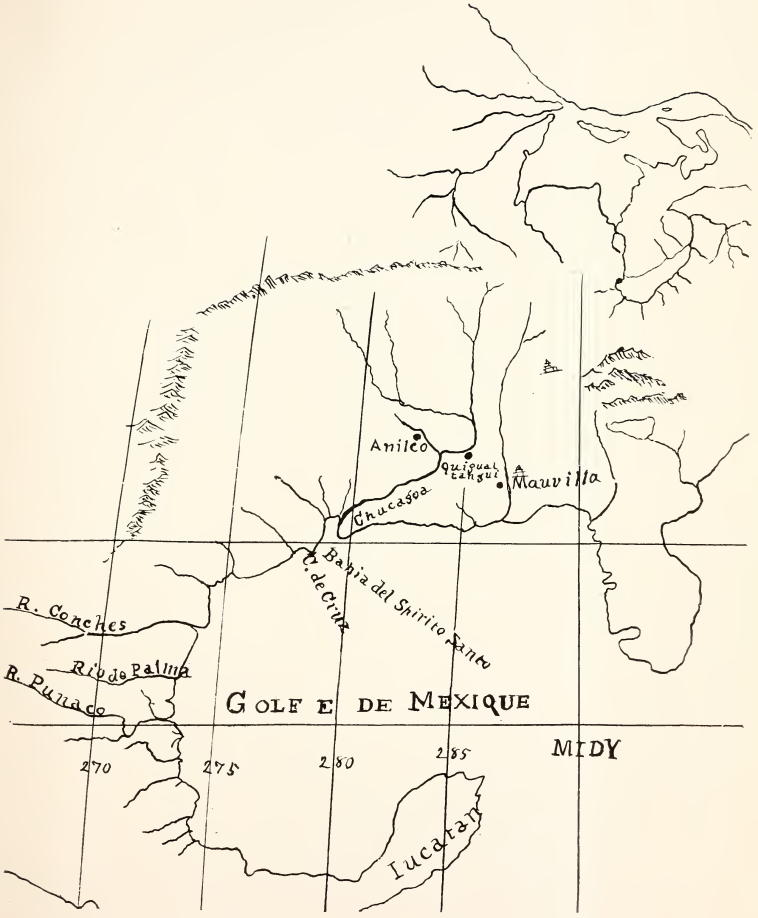
Hondius map.

Although La Salle had not learned with certainty that the Ohio united with the Mississippi, Franquelin believed that the matter had been settled and delineated accordingly. La Salle had descended the Ohio to a point near its mouth and evidently had traced its course. Joliet in maps later drawn had shown the Ohio as entering the Mississippi and had written beneath the river, in his own hand as Gravier shows, "Route du Sieur de La Salle pour aller dans le Mexique." A comparison of Franquelin's map of 1684, a tracing of part of which is here given, with that of Sanson, also in part reproduced, will show that La Salle found a breadth of country he thought to be sufficient for two great rivers where but one exists.

Sanson, probably aided by verbal information, devolved what seemed to him to be the probable course of the Chucagoa, now known as the Mississippi, from the multitude of Spanish maps, with their impossible rivers and country-wide islands. Although many river mouths had been shown by earlier map makers, seemingly hinting of the true mouth of the Mississippi, wanting the delta, Sanson embouched the Chucagoa into the bay of the "Holy Spirit," the Mobile Bay of today. La Salle, on his way down, at Kapaha, a



Traced from Franquelin's map of 1684.



Part of Sanson's map, 1696.

little distance above the mouth of the Arkansas River, had by "Proces-verbal," taken possession in the name of Louis XIV, of all the region near and far including the Chucagoa, the Ohio, the Colbert, also called the Mississippi, and as far west as the "Rivers des Palmes," and at the mouth of the Mississippi River he repeated the "Proces," taking in great regions which he had only heard vaguely mentioned.

His words regarding the narrowness of the peninsula of Florida relative to the direction of flow of Escondido well fit the Hondius map. He evidently had also studied the larger Sanson map made about 1656, in part here shown.[7]

In the early days of the cartography of America the longitudes were seldom definitely known. The difference between that of Quebec and of the mouth of the Escondido I find to have varied from twenty to thirty degrees, the average on the many maps before me showing about twenty-four degrees. This query at once arises: How did La Salle establish the longitude of "his" river? Was his conclusion the result of calling to his aid celestial objects, or was it his confidence in the early map makers, Hondius for instance? Be all this as it may, his ignorance spelled disaster to him and incalculable loss to France. He had heard through the traders of the great country beyond the lakes, had acquired a license there to trade; early he had learned of the "Belle Riviere," our Ohio, by which it might be reached and had followed its tide almost to the confluence with that of the "Father of Waters." He had proposed a route for the transportation of the furs and of the skins of the deer and buffalo from the Mississippi valley, and for the return of the French articles of trade from the head of Lake Ontario to the headwaters of the Ohio and thence onward; but that route was not practical, as the Iroquois, backed by the English, must be reckoned with, a fact the French had learned full well. He later found a route to the Illinois country by the way of the Great lake, and both of the streams that, united, form the Illinois. He had contemplated, and it is believed had made, a journey to the Illinois country from the head of Lake Erie by the way of the Maumee and Wabash rivers, but believed that a way by sea and the Great River from France, was possible and more feasable. Not only all this: He had called together many of the jealous branches of natives who spoke the Algonquin tongue, long sufferers from the Iroquoian raids, and founded his "Colonie du Sieur de La Salle." He had founded his Fort St. Louis on Starved Rock, and had promised protection, by France, if he could once open up the great river. He mentions many of the tribes he had brought together in the letter above quoted.

His first discoveries had put within the grasp of France a vast region, at once great in agricultural and commercial possibilities, soon, however, to be lost by his own errors. The Spanish maps had deceived him or he had erred in his appeal to the heavenly bodies and astronomical tables. Had he with the fleet of four vessels, fitted out by the King of France, with supplies for the soldiers and people, reached the mouth of the Mississippi all might have gone well. But Beaujeau, the commandant while at sea, and La Salle, the commandant-to-be on land, did not agree. Each seemed a thorn in the side of the other. Quarrels began early and continued until Beaujeau, in disgust, and half suppressed anger, quitted the scene on the western coast of the Gulf near the mouth of the "Escondido," in the war vessel that had protected the transports which brought the people and supplies. Some early writers seem to have believed that La Salle well knew the actual geographical position of the mouth of the river he had run to its end and, having in mind, ultimately, to attack the Spaniards, had purposely gone to the western coast of the gulf. The fact seems clear, instead, that he was dazed. For several days he remained at anchor in fresh but muddy water flowing into the gulf, while awaiting the return of Beaujeau, whose vessel had become separated. In a very uncertain frame of mind,

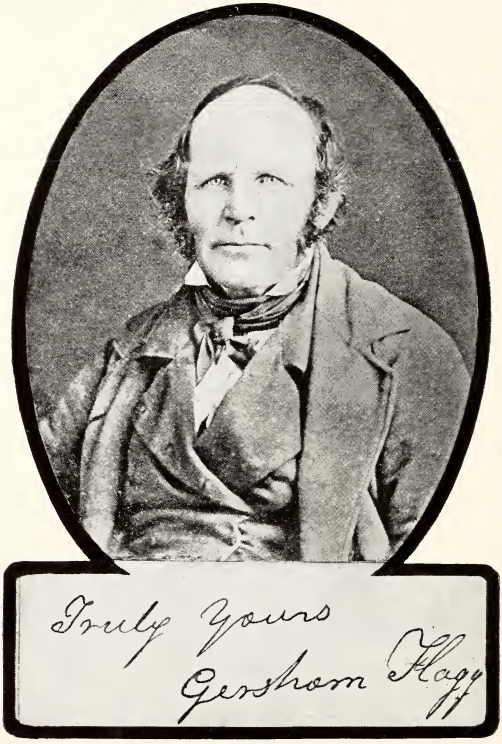
[7] In this map the main branch of the Escondido is named "R. Conches," but on twenty Spanish maps at hand it is properly named and the name Conches given a Southern branch only.

he had coasted westward to the region of the Panuco and the Escondido, finally landing in Bay St. Louis, as he named it. He soon found his mistake and nearly two years were spent in vain efforts to find "his" river. The loss of one of his vessels to pirates when entering the gulf, the wreck of another and the loss of the Belle in a storm, or otherwise, left the colony practically hopeless. Deaths, in wars with the natives and due to sickness, continued to decimate the colony until the Spaniards of Mexico put an end to the remaining few after La Salle's death at the hand of one of his own party while seeking a way to New France for succor by way of the Illinois country and Canada.

Such was the end; but what might have been the result to France for the benefit of which he had spent all of his means and much of that of his friends? Had he ascended the Mississippi as intended, left his military support at the first favorable site reached and passed on with his smaller vessels to the region of the Illinois, thus opening the river, the development of the prairie region could have been, and probably would have been, so rapid that a colony of sufficient strength to resist the encroachment of the English and hold them east of the Alleghany mountains would have grown up. Instead came D'Iberville and others and founded New Orleans, ignorant of the possibilities of the upper country. The soils of the lower river were ill adapted to the growth of the cereals which later so rapidly brought the prairie region into the lime-light, as it were, that shone far beyond the Atlantic Ocean. So slow was the peopling of the valley lying between the two great ranges of mountains, when reached by the way of the St. Lawrence, that the English ultimately crowded the French beyond the Mississippi. The Spaniards in turn pressed them from the southwest. What was left of the great nation, so rich in prospect, was sold over the remnant counter, so to speak, by Napoleon for a meager pittance sadly needed by his nation to carry on the wars his ambition had led it into.

PART IV.

Documents.


Truly Yours
Gershom Flagg

PIONEER LETTERS OF GERSHOM FLAGG.

Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by Solon J. Buck.

Introduction.

Expansion is the dominant note of American history. As a fire kindled at the edge of a prairie sweeps on and on until it has covered the whole area, so the American people from the very beginnings at Jamestown and Plymouth have pushed westward, ever westward, until in the course of three centuries they have occupied the continent and the frontier has disappeared. The story of this westward movement will someday be told, and it will be more than a composite of the stories of the individuals and families who have taken part in it. A knowledge, nevertheless, of the motives, purposes, and experiences of individual pioneers is essential to an understanding of the movement as a whole; and for that reason, if for no other, it is desirable to preserve and make accessible contemporary letters and journals of men who were in the vanguard of the movement.

Gershom Flagg, the writer of the letters here presented, came of pioneer stock.[1] The first member of the family to feel the call of the West—tradition says that a love affair had something to do with it also—was one Thomas Flegg of Scratby, England, who crossed the ocean and settled in Watertown, Massachusetts, in 1637. Six generations later the pioneer spirit reappeared in two brothers, Ebenezer and Gershom Flagg, both of whom had seen service in the Continental Army during the Revolution. Ebenezer went to Vermont, locating first in Rutland county and then in 1799 in the town of Richmond, Chittenden county, in the foothills of the Green Mountains and not far from Lake Champlain. There he raised a goodly family of five boys and six girls. Gershom, the brother, sought a more distant frontier and in 1789 joined the little colony which Rufus Putnam and Manasseh Cutler with their New England associates had just established at Marietta, Ohio.

Ebenezer Flagg's third son, another Gershom, was born at Orwell, Vermont, November 26, 1792. His early years were spent on the farm with little opportunity for schooling, but later he was enabled to study surveying with a competent engineer in Burlington. During the War of 1812, he joined a company of Vermont militia as drummer and was present at the battle of Plattsburg, across Lake Champlain in New York. Soon after the close of the war he determined to go west, apparently with the idea of securing employment in surveying the public domain, or of purchasing land and developing a farm, or both, as occasion might offer. This was the time when the "Ohio fever" was carrying off thousands of the sons of New England and so young Flagg left Richmond September 23, 1816, with Ohio as his intended destination.

[1] *Family Records of the Descendants of Gershom Flagg, of Lancaster, Massachusetts*, compiled and published by Norman Gershom Flagg and Lucius C. S. Flagg, 1897.

Turning westward at Troy, New York, he followed the ancient highway up the valley of the Mohawk to Utica. From there to Canandaigua he traveled on the Genessee road, constructed by the state of New York in the last decade of the preceding century. This road ran straight on to Buffalo but Flagg appears to have left it at Canandaigua and made his way northwestwardly to Rochester where he struck another state road constructed about 1809, which he could follow to Lewistown.[2] From there his route ran south past the falls to Buffalo, around the end of the lake to Erie, and then south again to Mercer. From Mercer in Pennsylvania to Cadiz in Ohio the road could have been but little more than a trail for all the main roads in that part of the country led to or from Pittsburg. At Cadiz, however, he struck the main highway from Pittsburg to the West and from Cambridge to Lancaster he was on a state road following the line of the famous trace which Ebenezer Zane, under authority of Congress, laid out from Wheeling in Virginia to Maysville in Kentucky in 1797.[3] From Lancaster Flagg made his way through Columbus, the new state capital, to Champaign county in the west-central part of Ohio, where he arrived November 8, 1816, forty-six days after leaving Richmond.

Here he remained, in Springfield and in Harmony township,[4] during the ensuing winter and spring; but it was not long before his "Ohio fever began to turn" and he was seized with the "Missouri and Illinois fever"—induced apparently by the hope of being able to secure work as a surveyor by going to St. Louis where the surveyor-general of Illinois and Missouri resided and by the belief that good land could be secured cheaply in the Military Tract in Illinois. On July 1, therefore, he arrived in Cincinnati, with the intention of proceeding at once to St. Louis, but the advice of friends that for reasons of health it was best to arrive in a new country in the fall and the desire for company on the journey induced him to remain in Cincinnati until October. Finally he joined with another Vermonter in the purchase of a flat-boat and on October 19, they started to float down the Ohio. When the mouth of the Mississippi was reached, they put their baggage on a north-bound keel-boat and walked to St. Louis, arriving there the eighteenth of November.

A few days after his arrival in St. Louis, Flagg went prospecting for land in Illinois and made a purchase of 264 acres. Returning to St. Louis, he endeavored to secure a contract for some of the government surveying, but without success, and in the spring of 1818 he established himself on a quarter-section of land six miles north of Edwardsville, in Madison county, Illinois. Renting part of the farm for a number of years, he cultivated the remainder himself and boarded with a neighbor. On September 27, 1827, he was married to Mrs. Jane Paddock Richmond, daughter of Gaius Paddock, who in 1821 had taken up a quarter-section adjoining Flagg's. The rest of Flagg's life, with the exception of visits to relatives in the East in 1838 and 1855, was passed quietly, running his farm and serving as justice of the peace and as postmaster of Paddock's Grove. He died March 2, 1857.

As an illustration of the influence which the emigration of one individual sometimes had on his relatives and friends, it is interesting to note that of the eight brothers and sisters of Gershom Flagg who were younger than himself, five followed him to Illinois, four going directly to Madison county.[5] Of the other three, one died unmarried at the age of twenty-three, the family of another—a sister—moved to Illinois shortly after her death, and the third went as far west as Ohio. To the list might also be added a son of Flagg's oldest brother, who moved to Paw Paw, Illinois, in 1850. The descendants of these brothers and sisters are now scattered all over the United States from Vermont to California and thus the history of this family typifies in a way the spread of the American people across the continent.

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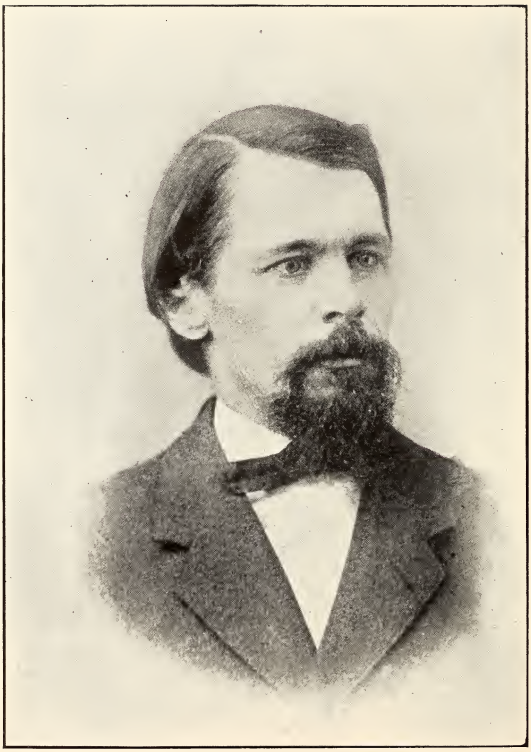
[2] Archer B. Hulbert, *Pioneer Roads* (*Historic Highways*, XI.-XII.), II., chap. iv.
[3] *Ibid.*, I., chap. iii.
[4] Now in Clark county.
[5] See notes 10, 83, 96, 102, 111, 112, of the text.



WILLARD CUTTING FLAGG.

In addition to telling the story of one of the leaders of that great stream of emigrants which flowed from New England to Illinois, these letters are of interest for the illustrations which they contain of social, economic, and political conditions. Unlike so many of the travelers who wrote for publication, Flagg had no motive for distorting the things which he saw and experienced, and his pictures can be relied upon so far as they go. Light is shed also upon a number of incidents of interest in state and local history. All the letters except one are addressed to one of the two older brothers or to the parents of the writer. The first four tell of the journey from Vermont to Ohio and give an account of pioneer agriculture and social conditions in that state in 1816 and 1817; the fifth letter is devoted to Cincinnati and contains an interesting picture of the Queen City of the West in 1817; the next letter contains a similar picture of St. Louis, an account of the journey thither, and information about land in Illinois and Missouri; the seventh letter serves as a resumé of the writer's experiences since he left Vermont and the eighth is devoted to a description of Madison county and of Illinois in the year in which it became a state. The remaining letters, sixteen in all, of dates running from 1819 to 1836, deal with a variety of subjects: agricultural methods and conditions; state and national politics; the slavery controversy in Illinois; murders, robberies, hangings, and duels; the activity of the surveyor-general in feathering the nests of his relatives; Lafayette's visit to the West—in short, they present a picture of society in Illinois at the time when it was a rapidly growing frontier state.

These letters were first gathered together by Willard C. Flagg, the son of Gershom, and extracts from some of them were published in the *Alton Weekly Telegraph* beginning April 27, 1876. The originals are now the property of Hon. Norman G. Flagg, of Moro, Illinois, grandson of Gershom, and thanks are due to him for permission to copy them and for assistance in preparing them for the press. They are here printed *verbatim* and *literatim* with the exception that capitals are supplied occasionally for the first words and periods at the end of sentences. All words or letters supplied and all editorial explanations in the text are enclosed in brackets, the former in Roman type and the latter in italics.

University of Illinois, September, 1911.

GERSHOM FLAGG'S LETTERS.

I. To Azariah C. Flagg,[1] November 12, 1816.

Springfield Champaign County[2] Nov 12th 1816

Dear Brother,

I left Richmond[3] the 23d day of sept. and after traveling Eight Hundred & ninety Eight miles arrived at this place the 8th inst in company with

[1] Azariah Cutting Flagg, second son of Ebenezer and Elizabeth Flagg, was born in Orwell, Vermont, in 1790; served as a printer's apprentice in Burlington from 1801 to 1806; and shortly after crossed Lake Champlain and became the proprietor of the Plattsburg (New York) *Republican*. He won distinction at the battle of Plattsburg during the War of 1812 and rose rapidly to prominence in New York politics, first as a member of the Albany Regency and later as a leader of the radical or "Barnburner" faction of the Democratic party. He was a member of the legislature in 1824 and 1826, secretary of state from 1826 to 1833, state comptroller from 1833 to 1839 and from 1842 to 1847, and comptroller of the city of New York from 1853 to 1859. He died in New York City in 1873 after fourteen years of total blindness. *Flagg Family Records*, 48; D. S. Alexander, *Political History of the State of New York*, I., 294, 325-326, II., 52, 58, 90-92; Ellis H. Roberts, *New York (American Commonwealths)*, II., 546, 583, 598.

[2] Champaign county, Ohio, was formed from Greene and Franklin counties in 1801 and received its name from the rolling character of its surface. Springfield was laid out by James Demint in 1803. In 1817 Clark county was formed from Champaign, Madison and Greene; and Springfield became its seat. Judging from the census returns of 1810 and 1820, the population of the town was probably about nine hundred or a thousand when Flagg was there. Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio*, (edition of 1857), pp. 80-81, 84, 93.

[3] The town of Richmond, Vermont, in which the farm of Dr. Ebenezer Flagg was located, is in Chittenden county and adjoins the town of Williston in which lies the city of Burlington. The village of Richmond is twelve miles from Burlington and twenty-five from Montpelier.

Celah Coleman. I shall stay in this vicinity probably til next April and I wish you would forward your papers to me until that time and be sure & write to me as soon as you receive this letter.

In comeing to this place we have had very good luck although since we came into the state of Ohio we have not traveled more than 20 miles a day the roads being very bad—the South East part of the State is very rough it is nothing but one continued range of hills from where we came into the state to Muskingum r[i]ver and from thence we found it very level and so muddy that it was as bad as the hills. We came a round about way I suppose but I think we took the best road. We first came to Troy then to Schenectady up the Mohawk river to Utica through Canandaigua crossed the Gennessee river at Rochester villiage through Lewiston up Niagara River by the falls to Buffalo[4] from thence we had a bad road all the way through Erie, Meadville, Mercer, New Castle & Greersburg in Pennsylvania;[5] through New Lisbon, Cadiz, Cambridge, Zanesville, New Lancaster, Columbus which is the seat of the state Government, Worthington to this place in Ohio,[6] which is about 60 miles from the East line of Indiana where we calculate to go next spring if we have our healths.

I find the Country as fertile as I expected. Corn grows with once hoeing and some times with out hoeing at all to 14 feet high and is well filled. Wheat is sowed where the corn is taken off and the ground plowed once over which is sufficient to bring a crop. Hogs & Cattle run in the woods in summers and in the winter are fed on Corn & prairie hay. In this vicinity are some as handsome Cattle as ever I have seen. Some men Milk 40 Cows and own from 100 to 400 head of Cattle but these men are few.

Beef & Pork is four dollar a hundred Wheat 75 cents a bushel and Corn & oats 25 cents a bushel. I am fully of the opinion that a man may live by farming with much less labour here than in the Eastern States but there are many things here which are very inconvenient the roads are very bad

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[4] Of these places, Troy, Schenectady, Utica, and Canandaigua had from two to five thousand population each when Flagg passed through them but Rochester, Lewiston, and Buffalo were merely small villages. Troy and Schenectady were old Dutch settlements; Utica, located on the site of Fort Schuyler, received its first permanent settlement in 1786; Canandaigua, the principal town of the Phelps-Gorham purchase was laid out in 1789 and soon became the largest town in western New York; Rochester was first settled in 1803; Lewiston, on the site of an old French trading-post, was laid out by the Holland Company in 1798; and Buffalo was surveyed by the same company in 1802. Buffalo was burnt by the English in 1814 and grew but little until after the construction of the Erie canal. Reuben G. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, VIII., 42, 158, XIX., 152, XXIV., 186-188, notes.

[5] Erie, the seat of Erie county, was laid out around the old French fort of Presqu'isle on the lake shore shortly after the fort was surrendered to the United States by the British in 1796. It was a port of entry of considerable importance and had a population of about five hundred in 1816. Meadville and Mercer were towns of about the same size, the seats of Crawford and Mercer counties respectively, and New Castle was a village which had grown up on the site of the Delaware Indian town of "Old Kuskuskies" at the forks of the Shenango. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, I., 26, 101, 249, notes; William Darby, *Emigrant's Guide* (New York, 1818), p. 264.

Greersburg has disappeared from the modern maps and gazetteers of Pennsylvania but it is given in the United States census of 1820 as a village in Beaver county with a population of 146 and Finley's map of Pennsylvania (1833) locates it on a road between New Castle and Georgetown and at or near the present village of Darlington.

[6] New Lisbon, the seat of Columbiana county, Ohio, was laid out in 1802 by Rev. Lewis Kinney and had a population of about five hundred in 1816. The first settlement on the site of Cadiz was in 1799 but the town was not laid out until 1803 or 1804. It had a population of about four hundred in 1816. In 1798 a tavern and ferry were established at the place where Zane's Trace crossed Wills Creek and in 1806 the town of Cambridge was laid out there. It was settled largely by emigrants from the island of Guernsey and in 1811 was made the seat of Guernsey county. Zanesville, located where Zane's Trace crossed the Muskingum, was laid out by Jonathan Zane and John McIntire in 1799. It was the capital of the state from 1810 to 1812 and its population must have exceeded a thousand when Flagg passed through in 1816. Lancaster was also on Zane's Trace, where it crossed the Hockhocking River. Settlement began there in 1799 and the town was laid out in 1800 as New Lancaster but the "New" was dropped, officially at least, by act of the legislature in 1805. Its population was about six hundred in 1816. In 1812 the legislature of Ohio accepted the proposal of four speculators to locate the capital of the state on the high banks of the Scioto River opposite to the town of Franklinton on condition that they erect a state-house and other necessary buildings. The proprietors at once laid out the town of Columbus and in 1816 the legislature began holding sessions there. The town grew rapidly and is said to have contained three

although there was never better ground for roads there is no Bridges except a few toll ones. I have crossed one Creek 9 times in going 3 miles which in high water must be impassable.

There is no regulations for educating the youth by common Schools. The inhabitants are from all parts North & East of Kentucky and are the most ignorant people I ever saw. What the New England people call towns and villages they call townships & towns. I have asked many people what township they lived in & they could not tell. If you enquire for any place if it is a town they can sometimes tell if a township you will get no information about it from one half of the people. One great difficulty in finding any place is the great number of towns and townships of the same name. There is of towns and townships 3 by the name of Concord, 6 of Fairfield, 4 of Franklin, 9 of Green, 9 of Jefferson, 11 of Madison, 7 of Salem, 11 of Union, 7 of Washington, 5 of Harrison & 8 of Springfield so that great embaresment is attendant on peoples directing letters; there is many more towns beside those I have mentioned of the same names.[7] You will be careful therefore in sending letters to the State of Ohio to designate the County as well as the town; you will direct your letters to "Springfield Champaign County," if otherwise I may never get them. In speaking of the ignorance of the people in this state you will take notice that I have traveled in that part of the state which is inhabited by people from Pennsylvania, Maryland Virginia & Kentucky. I am pursuaded the people who came from Connecticut who are settled in the north part of the state are more enlightened.[8]

There is one thing that I knew not before I came into this state that is that almost one fourth of it the North West corner belongs to the Indian and is now in their possession except some tracts about the forts of 6 and 12 miles square.[9]

I saw Ulnsted [?] Chamberlain and Joshua Chamberlain his Father & family at Lewiston in N Y where they all live. I saw Frederick Day at a tavern near Niagara Falls who told me he had a wife & 3 Children & lives

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hundred buildings in 1817 and to have had a population of over two thousand in 1818. Worthington was a village of about seventy houses situated on the Scioto sixteen miles above Columbus. It was settled in 1803 by people from Connecticut and Massachusetts. Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio*, 107-108, 158-162, 168-172, 203-204, 242, 244, 384-390; Samuel R. Brown, *Western Gazetteer*, (Auburn, New York, 1817), pp. 296-297, 304, 311, 316, 318; Darby, *Emigrant's Guide*, 227-228; Jacob H. Studer, *Columbus, Ohio; its History, Resources, and Progress*, chap. i.

[7] The western pioneers displayed a surprising lack of originality in their choice of place names. A modern gazetteer gives, of towns and townships in Ohio: nine by the name of Concord; eight of Fairfield; twenty-three of Franklin; thirteen of Green and six of Greene; twenty-five of Jefferson; twenty-one of Madison; nineteen of Salem, including one city; thirty-one of Union; forty-four of Washington, including one city; twenty of Harrison; and eleven of Springfield, including the place from which Flagg was writing, now a city of forty thousand inhabitants. The difficulty with regard to the directing of mail has been obviated by the postal rule which permits but one post-office of a given name in a state. There is an amusing chapter on "Names of Places" in James Hall, *Letters from the West*, 193-214.

[8] When Connecticut surrendered her claims to lands in the West in 1786, she reserved a tract of about three and a quarter million acres on the shore of Lake Erie, which became known as New Connecticut or the Western Reserve. Its settlement was begun at Cleveland in 1796 by Connecticut people and most of the early settlers were from New England. Connecticut surrendered the jurisdiction over it to the United States in 1800 and it was incorporated in Ohio. Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio*, 120-123, 559; Andrew C. McLaughlin, *The Confederation and the Constitution* (*American Nation*, X.), 112.

[9] The treaty of Greenville, negotiated by General Wayne in 1795 established the first recognized boundary between the Indians and the whites in the Northwest Territory. The line started near the site of Cleveland on Lake Erie; ran up the Cuyahoga, across the portage to the Tuscarawas, and down that stream to the crossing point above Fort Laurens; thence westerly across the state to Loramie's Station on a branch of the Great Miami; thence to Fort Recovery; and from there southwardly across the eastern part of the present state of Indiana to the Ohio River opposite the mouth of the Kentucky. The next important cession in Ohio was made by the treaty of Fort Industry in 1805 when the Indians gave up all of the land east of a line drawn due south from about the middle of Sandusky Bay to the Greenville line. By the treaty of Detroit in the following year, the triangle of land north of the Maumee and east of a line drawn due north from the mouth of the Au Glaize or Bear Creek was ceded. This was the situation when Flagg was writing in 1816 but two other treaties in September, 1817 and October, 1818 extinguished the claims of the Indians to the rest of Ohio, with the exception of a few small reservations. Bureau of American Ethnology, *Reports*, XVIII., part ii, especially maps 49 and 50; Frazer E. Wilson. *The Peace of Mad Anthony*, chap. iv.

in the vicinity that his Father was dead and his mother and Harry living at Seneca Co N Y. Luther Whitney is in the town of Columbus and is going to commence keeping tavern in a few days he told me.

Tell Mary[10] that I traveled in Company with Eleeta [?] Allen who is Married to Theophilus Randall as far as the town of Murray in Gennessee County N Y.[11] where they expect to live.

What I had almost forgotten to tell you is that I am in Good health & Spirrits and have been since I left Richmond. I have not written to our folks in Richmond yet But shall as soon as I can write the particulars of the Country which I have passed through. But if you have an opportunity write to them & tell them that "*I am pretty well as common*" I have not written half what I wish [to] write; & have written some things not worth writing But I hope you will Pardon my folly & ignorance & give my love to all your family. Your Brother in Friendship &c.

GERSHOM FLAGG

[*Addressed:*] Capt. A. C. Flagg, Plattsburgh, New York.[12]
[*Written postmark:*] Springfield C C Ohio Novr 15th 1816. 25[13]
[*Endorsed:*] Missent
[*Stamped postmark:*] Pittsop, Dec 5

II. To ARTEMAS FLAGG,[14] January 8, 1817.

SPRINGFIELD CHAMPAIGN COUNTY Jan. 8th 1817

DEAR BROTHER,

I once more attempt to write to you to let you know that I am in good health hopeing that these lines will find you and the rest of my friends in good health. I wrote to you by mail the 17th Nov. but have not yet received any answer from you. If you have not Recd the letter I wish you to write to me as soon as you Receive this and I will write to you again. I wrote a particular description of the Country and will write it again if you have not received that letter. I have heard from Vermont several times since I left there by people from Waterbury Bolton Montpelier &c[15] but have not heard a word about my friends since I left that place. I am informed by people from Vermont and Massachusetts that it is very hard times in Vermont, that Bread is likely to be very scarcee &c.[16] I want to hear from you very much I wish you to Write to me as often as you can conveniently and

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[10] Mary Ann Flagg, fourth child and oldest daughter of Ebenezer and Elizabeth Flagg, was born in Orwell, Vermont, in 1794 and died at Rochelle, Illinois, in 1857. *Flagg Family Records*, 37.

[11] At this time Genesee county embraced a large part of western New York. The township of Murray is now in Orleans county about twenty-five miles west of Rochester and on the line of the Erie Canal.

[12] Plattsburg is on Lake Champlain about thirty miles from the Canadian line. It is famous as the site of one of the important battles of the War of 1812.

[13] These figures were endorsed on letters at the office from which they were sent, to indicate the amount of postage to be collected from the receiver. The rates of postage for a single sheet varied from six to twenty-five cents according to distance and double rates were charged for a letter of two sheets. (John B. MacMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, V., 533-536.) On most of these letters the date of the postmark is several days later than that of the letter itself; indicating infrequency of mails or delay in getting the letters to the office.

[14] Artemas Flagg, the oldest son of Ebenezer and Elizabeth Flagg, was born at Orwell, Vermont, in 1789. In 1799 he removed with his father to Richmond, where he lived as a farmer and blacksmith until his death in 1874. He served in the Vermont militia in the War of 1812, held various local offices, was a member of the legislature in 1836-1837, and was a member of two state conventions for revising the constitution. *Flagg Family Records*, 41.

[15] Waterbury and Bolton are neighboring towns to Richmond in Washington and Chittenden counties respectively. Montpelier, the capital of Vermont, is in Washington county. All these places are in the valley of the Winooski or Onion River, which runs into Lake Champlain a short distance from Burlington.

[16] The economic depression in New England during 1816 and 1817 is generally ascribed to the financial and industrial re-organization necessitated by the termination of the War of 1812 and the Napoleonic wars in Europe. The situation was aggravated, however, by an exceptionally cold season in 1816 which brought about a crop failure and an approach to famine conditions. This state of affairs in New England was a considerable factor in promoting emigration to the West. Macmaster, *History of the People of the United States*, IV., chaps. xxi, xxiii; George Barstow, *History of New Hampshire*, 392; Arthur C. Boggess, *Settlement of Illinois*, 1778-1830, p. 120.

write every thing which you think worth writing respecting the situation of the Country, the times News &c. for I have a poor chance to know what our and other Goverments are about. I see but few News Papers here and those not of the first rate.

The Legislature of this state is now in session at Columbus but their proceedings are not very interesting. The emigration to this Country from New England and New York still continues. There has several families came into this vicinity since I came here and there is in this township a dozen young men from Vermont. There is as many people moving from York state as from Vermont and more to this state, and people are going from here to Indiana and to the Missouri. The whole movement seems to be to the Westward and when they get there they go on beyond the Westward.[17] I have seen some families of eight or 9 children on the road some with their horses tired others out of Money &c.[18] I believe Many people who come to this Country are greatly disappointed. A Man with a family that comes from Vermont here has to encounter great difficulties. Although Grain is cheap it will take one or two hundred dollars to get here and when he gets here his horses are poor and will not sell for more than half what they cost in vermont. If a man goes on to timbered Land he will have to buy all his provision for at least one year and there are many things which are worth but little in Vermont that cost considerable here. A Plow fit to plow the Prairie Ground will cost $20. and Rails laid up into a fence on the Prairie cost $2.25 a hundred. Salt is sold at .75 cents or a dollar a bushel and fifty pounds are called a bushel although it is not more than half a bushel and not more than half as strong as the Rock salt. It is sold at the Works for $9.00 a barrel. There [are] other things different from what you may have an idea of. 100 pounds is called a hundred weight. They have no gross weight in any thing. Corn is always sold in the ear in this state which makes it better for those who sell. If you wish to know whether I like the Country I must tell you that I do although it is not so good in some respects as I expected but in other respect[s] it is better but as I shall have a chance to know more about it I shall write hereafter. I am as yet at a loss to know whether it is better for a man that has a farm in Vermont to sell and come here that is if he has a good farm. I think if I had a good farm in Vermont and was there myself I should not come here But I would advise every man who wishes to buy a farm especially if he has no family to come here although many things are very inconvenient here. Mechanics of all kinds have a good chance to make money here as Mechanical labour is most intolerable high but a young man to work on a farm will not make one cent more than enough to clothe himself as well as people dress in Vermont.[19] But this Country is settled in many places by a people whose wants are few and easely supplied. But as the Country grows

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[17] Referring to Chillicothe in 1819, W. Faux wrote: "Many houses and town lots are deserted for migration further west. The American has always something better in his eye, further west; he therefore lives and dies on hope, a mere gypsy in this particular." *Memorable Days*, in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, XI., 179.

[18] All the travelers during this period comment on the stream of emigration flowing to the West and on the appearance and characteristics of the emigrants. "Old America seems to be breaking up, and moving westward" said Morris Birkbeck. "We are seldom out of sight...of family groups behind and before us." *Notes on a Journey* (London, 1818), p. 31. "During the eighteen months previous to April, 1816, fifteen thousand waggons passed over the bridge at Cayuga, containing emigrants to the western country" Kingdom, *America*, 17. "On Sidelonghill [Pa.] we came up with a singular party of travellers,—a man with his wife and ten children. . . . . A little farther onward we passed a young woman, carrying a sucking child in her arms, and leading a very little one by the hand. It is impossible to take particular notice of all the travellers on the way. We could scarcely look before or behind, without seeing some of them. The canterbury pilgrims were not so diversified nor so interesting as these." James Flint, *Letters from America*, in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, IX., 72. Similar passages can be found in Tilly Buttrick, *Voyages*, in *ibid.*, VIII., 57; John S. Wright, *Letters from the West or A Caution to Emigrants*, 1; Benjamin Harding, *Tour through the Western Country*, 5.

[19] Statements of travelers in the West about this time, as to wages received by mechanics, vary from one to two and a half dollars; ordinary laborers, seventy-five cents to two dollars. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, consult Index.

older I expect that Clothing will grow cheaper and also many other things. The weather is warm and pelasant now and has been since I wrote you. We have had no snow. [It] freezes in the night and thaws in the day time. I [am] with Mr Butler and shall stay here til the f[irs]t [?] June I guess.

Your friend

G Flagg

[*Addressed:*] Mr. Artemas Flagg, Richmond, Vermont. Entrusted to the Politeness of Mr. Hatch.

[*Written postmark:*] 10

III. To Artemas Flagg, June 1, 1817.

Harmony Champaign Co. Ohio[20] June 1st 1817.

Dear Brother,

In my letter of the 18th inst. [*sic*] in answer to yours of the 11 April I promised to give you some account of this Country. I shall in this letter confine myself to the State of Ohio. I passed through the S. E. part of the State to Zanesville which lies on the Muskingum River from thence through Columbus to this place, from where I crossed the pennsylvania line to Zanesville the Country is very uneven. We found some of the worst hills to travel up and down that I have ever seen where there was a Road. This part of the State abounds with large mines of Coal near or quite at the surface of the Earth. The soil is good for english grain being a red Clay but not so good for Grass or Corn. Generally speaking from the Muskingum to the Scioto River the land is more level the Soil more Rich the timber more Maple and beach which before we came to the Muskingum was mostly Oak and Walnut. Upon the intervales or Bottom as it is called in this country the land is immensely Rich caused by the annual inundations which are common to this Western Country.

This township (*What we call towns the people here call townships and Our Villages are called towns*) lies upon the head Waters of the little Miami River 70 miles from Cincinnati 50 or 60 from Chillocotha[21] 15 from Urbanna[22] 40 from Columbus 30 from Dayton[23] and 40 miles from the Indian Boundary. More than one fifth of the N. W. Corner of this state is still in possession of the Indians. The Land except what belongs to the Indians is mostly settled that is the best of it. There is a plenty of Land for sale here. There is as many wishing to sell here and go further West as in Vermont but land is very high improved land is from 4 to 25 dollars an acre.

In C[hampaign] C[ounty] the land is very level though sufficiently rolling to permit the Water to run of freely. It lies in small ridges the tops of

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[20] Harmony is a township in what is now Clark county, Ohio. It is said to have been settled mainly by people from New England or England. Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio*, 84.

[21] Chillicothe, located in the Virginia Military District on the west bank of the Scioto and sixty-six miles from its mouth, was laid out in 1796 by General Nathaniel Massie and General Duncan McArthur. The first settlement was by a Presbyterian congregation from Kentucky under the leadership of Rev. Robert W. Finley and most of the early settlers were southerners. The convention which framed the first constitution of the state met in Chillicothe in 1802 and it was the temporary capital of the state from 1802 to 1810 and from 1812 to 1816. In 1817 it contained three or four thousand inhabitants. Caleb Atwater, *History of Ohio* (edition of 1838), p. 339; Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio*, 433-443. Contemporary descriptions in Brown, *Western Gazetteer*, 302; Darby, *Emigrant's Guide*, 227; Flint, *Letters from America*, in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, IX., 118; Faux, *Memorable Days*, in *ibid.*, XI., 179.

[22] Urbana, the county-seat of Champaign county, Ohio, was laid out in 1805 by Colonel William Ward from Greenbriar, Virginia. The town contained about one hundred houses in 1817. Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio*, 81; Brown, *Western Gazetteer*, 295.

[23] Dayton is located on the Great Miami at the mouth of Mad River. Plans were made for a settlement on the site as early as 1788 but nothing was attempted until after the treaty of Greenville. In 1796 a company composed of General Jonathan Dayton, General Arthur St. Clair, General James Wilkinson, and Colonel Israel Ludlow bought the land from John Cleves Symmes and laid out the town. The title proved to be defective and the population melted away but in 1803 the place was chosen as the seat of Montgomery county and after the War of 1812 it began to grow. In 1817 it contained about 125 houses. Atwater, *History of Ohio*, 343; Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio*, 369-371; Brown, *Western Gazetteer*, 290; Darby, *Emigrant's Guide*, 226.

Which are thinly covered with Black White and Burr Oak Hickory and Walnut. The lower ground is Prairie covered with Grass, Shrubs plumb bushes Crab apples thorns different kinds of Lignious plants with a great variety of beautiful flowers. Some of these Prairies are large and level which look like a large body of Water in comparison of levelness. The soil of the land is Red Clay and black mould some poor land and some good. Corn grows best upon the black soil and english grain best upon the higher dryer and more Clayie soil. The soil produces Corn Wheat and most kinds of Veg[et]able &c as well as any Country excep[t] Peas which are said to be buggy, so there is none raised here. Corn grows from 10 to 15 feet high one Ear on a stalk. The ears grow very high. I have seen ears so high that I could not hang my hat upon them when standing upon the ground. Hogs will not waste the Corn when turned into it. It troubles them so much to tear down the Corn that they will not tear down more than they wish to eat up clean. After Corn is planted there is no more done to it except to plow among it and cut up the Weeds. They hill it up not at all. 2 men plant 10 acres a day. Corn is always sold in the ear in th[i]s state. The ground has to be clea[red of] the Cornstock in the Spring before it can be p[loughed] by cutting them down and drawing them togethe[r] with a horse Rake. They are then burnt.

The good thing[s] in this Country are Plenty of Grain which makes large fat horses and Cattle Rich Land ready cleared, some Whiskey plenty of feed for Cattle, Plumbs, Peaches, Mellons, Deer, Wild turkies, Ducks, Rabits, quails, &c &c &c, little more Corn. The bad things are, Want of Stone, Want of timber for building, Bad Water, which will not Wash, overflowing of all the streams which makes it very bad building Bridges especially where the materials are scarce as they are here, Bad Roads, ignorant people, Sick Milk,[24] Sick Wheat, a plenty of Ague near the large streams Bad situation as to trade. The price of dry goods I think is about 50 or 62½ per cent dearer here [than] with you. Hardware Groceries and all kinds of heavy Articles are about 100 per cent dearer Rum & Brandy 4 dollars a gallon Iron 14 dollars per 100 pounds there is no grose weight here. I suspect it is different from this upon the Ohio River the prices are current at this place. Swarms of Locusts have lately made their appearance.

I shall stay here two months longer than I told you in my last and wish you to write to me inmediately after receiving this letter and let your letter be a little more replenished with Political, and religious inteligence. You say Roxana Bishop is married—to Whom? You will remember in reading this letter that there is no giving a description of this country which will [be] satisfactory to yourself. Look & see for you[r] self.

G Flagg

[*Addressed:*] Artemas Flagg, Richmond, Vermont. To be left at the past office Burlington (Vt.)[25]

[*Written postmark:*] Springfield Oo June the 6th. 25

IV. To Artemas Flagg, June, 1817.

Harmony [*MS. torn*]

Dear Brother,

I send you an extract from the Laws of the U. S. respecting the sale of Publick Lands,[26] Viz.

At the time of application for a quarter section of 160 acres, $16 must be paid, which holds it for 40 days: at the end of 40 days $64 more must be

[24] "The *milk sickness* is a disease of a singular character, which prevails in certain places. It first affects animals, especially cows, and from them is communicated to the human system by eating the milk, or the flesh...The prevailing idea is, that it is caused by some poisonous substance eaten by the cattle, but whether vegetable or mineral, remains undetermined." John M. Peck, *New Guide for Emigrants*, (Boston, 1836), pp. 86-87. See also [Robert Baird] *View of the Valley of the Mississippi*, (Philadelphia, H. S. Tanner, 1834), p. 86; John Moses, *Illinois, Historical and Statistical*, I, 228.

[25] Burlington, the metropolis of Vermont, is located in Chittenden county on Lake Champlain. The distance from there to Richmond is about ten miles.

[26] The system of public land sales here outlined is that inaugurated by the act of Congress of May 10, 1800, with some modifications by later acts, the most important of which was the act of March 26, 1804 permitting the sale of quarter-section tracts. The first radical change in the system was made by the act of

paid, or another person may purchase the same tract. But if no person applies for it at the end of 40 days, or between that and 90 days, the first $16 holds it for 90 days. Within 90 days the first instalment 80 dollars must be paid or it reverts to the United States: $80 second instalment must be paid in two years: $80 third instalment must be paid in three years; and $80 fourth instalment must be paid in 4 years from the day of application; without interest if the payments are punctually made, if not draw 6 per cent interest from the date of the purchase. At the end of 5 years if the money is not completely paid the land is advertised and offered at publick sale and if the amount due thereon is not bidden and paid the land reverts to the U. S. and the first purchaser loses what he has paid on it. Whatever the land sells for more than enough to satisfy the claims of the U. S. is paid over to the first purchaser. A discount of 8 per cent is allowed on the 2d, 3d, & 4th installments if paid down which will bring the cost of 160 acres to $262.40 which is $1.64 per acre. If the payments are let run on interest to the end of 5 years 160. acres amounts to $392. which is $2.45 per acre.

It is to be understood, however, that when a district is first offered for sale it is offered to the highest bider Notice of which sale is given by a Proclamation by the President of the U. S. All that does not sell for over two dollars an acre is offered for sale at the Land office at 2 dollars an acre as above stated. I send you this information that you may no [*sic*] upon what conditions land can be obtained in this country for the laws are the same respecting all the lands belonging to the U. S. I tho't probable you might not have seen these Laws. There is not much Congress Land[27] for sale in this State. There is about a Million and a half of Acres in the District of Cincinnati but ther[e] is a plenty in the Indiana, Illinois and Missouri, condition as above.

You [ask the price at which] land first sold for here and the price at [which it now] sells.[28] There is some profit in buying new land in this Country but this is not all. There is much to be made in raising cattle in this country. The cattle are now fat fit for Beef. 4 or 5 hundred head lately left this county for Green Bay which lies upon the West side of Lake Michigan.[29] There is most excellent feed for cattle here I have seen a hundred head together and some men in this country own 4 or 5 hundred head and as good cattle as every you see. Some Milk 30 or 40 cows these are New england people. The country people never make any Cheese which makes cheese in this country the same price of Butter. One thing in which I was very much disappointed ought not to be forgotten that is Hogs in this Country are the meanest that I have ever seen. When I first came here I tho't by the looks of the hogs that I had got to the place where roasted pigs run about the lots for they are crumped up and are Brown sandy colour—it is true Pork in this country costs nothing and the way it is raised it is good for nothing. I do not believe you ever see half so mean hogs as we have here.

April 24, 1820, which reduced the minimum price to $1.25, allowed the sale of half-quarter sections, and provided that all sales must be for cash. This made it possible for a settler with one hundred dollars to secure complete title to an eighty acre farm. Payson J. Treat, *The National Land System*, 94-142.

[27] The term "Congress land" was used to distinguish land which was for sale as above, directly by the United States government through its land offices, from various other classes of land which were disposed of in different ways. There was in Ohio at this time, for example, besides Congress land: United States military lands; Virginia military lands; the Western Reserve; the Fire lands; school, college, and university lands; the Ohio Company's purchase; Symmes' purchase; and several other grants, purchases, and donations. Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio*, 558-562. There is a map portraying the land situation in Ohio at this time in Treat, *The National Land System*, 185.

[28] The manuscript is torn here and the reading within the brackets is conjectural.

[29] A fort was erected by the French at Green Bay as early as 1721 and a settlement grew up in the vicinity. English troops took possession of the fort in 1761 but it was not until after the close of the War of 1812 that the United States made a determined effort to exercise its authority over the posts on the upper lakes. In 1815 a government factor was sent there to open a trading-post and the following year Fort Howard was built on the site of the old French fort. William L. Evans, *Military History of Green Bay*, in Wisconsin Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 1899, pp. 128-186.

I wrote to you the 17 or 18 Dec last the 10 Jan. the 18 May in answer to yours of the 11 April also 1st June. I have been censured, by those in whose presence I read my letter of the first June, of representing things in a worse light than I ought particularly in my mentioning Sick Wheat and Milk which they say never ought to hender any person from comeing to this country. I think so myself. I did not mention this or any thing else to hender or discourage any one from coming here but to make you cautious where you bought land in case you did come. I have not seen any sick Milk or sick Wheat but I [have] conversed [with several different] gentlemen who tell [me] that s[ick wheat is found in some][30] places & more particular upon the river Bottoms or intervale. The wheat can be told from other wheat it being of a redish cast. Sick Milk is said to be caused by the cows eating a particular herb or plant but it is not ascertained what this herb is it however grows only in timbered Land.

The climate of this country is not so mild as has been represented. People who have lived in this country however for several years say that this country has grown worse as much as Vermont has. We had three Weeks good sleding last winter. The ground was Frozen from the 10th Jan. to the 10 March. Before and after that time we had cold nights which froze considerable and warm days which thawed the ground again. This is not a comfortable place in the Winter it is not very cold but Rain & Mud and high Creeks in the fall and spring make it worse than it is in the middle of Winter. The time for Pla[n]ting corn here is the month of May if it [is] planted earlyer it is croped by the May frost generally. We had a severe frost the 20 & 21 of May last but it did no injury in this county. If Corn is planted in June it will not get ripe generally. There has been frost here every month the year past. But I fear I shal weary your patience, perhaps you will find some information in a letter from James Butler Esq to Samuel Martin of Richmond dated June 4.

Write to me at Springfield C. C. If I should leave this place before a letter arives it will be sent on to me by James Butler Esqr. with whom I shall have communication. Give my respects to all my acquaintance. My parents and Brothers & Sisters will any or either of them oblige me by writing to me. I have heard nothing as yet from Our Uncle G Flaggs family.[31] I remain your

affectionate Brother

Gershom Flagg

[*On reverse:*] I wish the News Papers & other papers which I left may be preserved.

[*Addressed:*] Mr. Artemas Flagg, Richmond, Vermont. To be left at the Post-office in Burlington, state of Vermont.

[*Written postmark:*] Lebanon O,[32] June 16. 25

V. To Azariah C. Flagg, August 3, 1817.

Cincinnati August 3d 1817

Dear Brother,

I recd your letter of the 6th January on the 8th March but have delayed writing to you (not having any thing in particular to communicate), till the present time. I wrote two letters to Artemas the one in Dec. last and the

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[30] Conjectural reading.

[31] Gershom Flagg, uncle of the writer of these letters, was born in Lancaster, Massachusetts, in 1758; served in the Continental Army during the Revolution; and was married in 1778 to Editha Hitchcock of Springfield. In 1789 he removed with his family to Marietta, Ohio, where settlement had just been begun by the Ohio Company. He served in the Indian wars of 1791 and 1792 and died as a result of exposure in the latter year. His family remained in Marietta and vicinity, the widow surviving him until 1819. *Flagg Family Records,* 96-97. See Letter XIV., below.

[32] Lebanon, the seat of Warren county, is located thirty miles northeast of Cincinnati. Settlement was begun there in 1796 and the town was laid out in 1802 or 1803. Miami University was located there in 1809. Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio,* 500; Brown, *Western Gazetteer,* 291.

Flagg may have mailed this letter there when on his way to Cincinnati, but, if so, he probably spent a week or two in the neighborhood for he wrote in the next letter that he arrived at Cincinnati the first of July.

other in Jan. On the 13th May I recd a letter from him informing me that he had not recd any letter from me. I cannot account for their miscarriage. I Recd your Papers very regular during the winter. I have wrote several letters to Artemas since I recd his of the 11th April. I came to this place the 1st of last month.[33] Cincinnati is an incorporated City. It is situated on the bank of the Ohio river opposite the mouth of Licking river which has Newport on the East and Covington on the West side of the river both towns being in plain sight of Cincinnati.[34] The River Ohio is here about half a mile in width. Cincinnati is 23 miles from the Mouth of the Great Miami river. It contained in 1815, 1,100 buildings of different descriptions among which are above 20 of Stone 250 of brick & 800 of Wood. The population in 1815 was 6,500. There are about 60 Mercantile stores several of which are wholesale. Here are a great share of Mechanics of all kinds. Among the Publick buildings are three Brick Meeting houses one of Wood a large Lancasterian school house built of Brick. Within two weeks after opening the school it is said that upwards of 400 schollars were admited. The building is calculated to accommodate 1000.[35] There is an Elegant Brick Court House now building and almost finished. There are two large and elegant Market Houses built of Brick one of which is 300 feet in length.

Here is one Woolen Factory four Cotton factories but not now in operation. A most stupendously large building of Stone is likewise erected immediately on the bank of the River for a steam Mill. It is nine stories high at the Waters edge & is 87 by 62 feet. It drives four pair of Stones besides various other Machinery as Wool carding &c &c. There is also a valuabl Steam Saw Mill driving four saws also an inclined Wheel ox Saw Mill with two

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[33] In 1787 Judge John Cleves Symmes purchased from Congress an extensive tract of land between the two Miamis and the following year he sold the land upon which Cincinnati is located to Matthias Denman, who associated with himself as partners Robert Patterson and John Filson. The proprietors, with a number of settlers, arrived on the site in the fall of 1788 and plans were made for laying out a town to be called Losantville (L-os-anti-ville, *i. e.* the city opposite the mouth of the Licking.) The killing of Filson by the Indians appears to have interfered with the plans and the town was not laid out until a year or two later, when it was named Cincinnati in honor of the military society of that name. Fort Washington was built there by Major Doughty in 1789 and in 1790 Governor St. Clair visited the place and established Hamilton county. The fort served as the starting-point for the disastrous expeditions of Harmar and St. Clair against the Indians in 1790 and 1791 and was occupied by troops until 1804 when the garrison was moved across the Ohio to Newport barracks. Cincinnati was the seat of government of the Northwest Territory from 1800 to 1802 and soon began to grow rapidly. By 1817 it had a population of about eight thousand. Jacob Burnet, *Notes on the Early Settlement of the Northwest Territory,* 44-49; Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio,* 205-215; Charles Cist, *Cincinnati in 1814, its early annals and future prospects,* 14-29.

Contemporary descriptions of Cincinnati can be found in Daniel Drake, *Natural and Statistical View or Picture of Cincinnati and the Miami Country* (Cincinnati, 1815); Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the last ten years in the valley of the Mississippi,* 37-54; Henry B. Fearon, *Sketches of America,* (3d ed.) 223-234; Birkbeck, *Notes on a Journey in America* (3d ed.) 80-87; Elias P. Fordham, *Personal Narrative,* 183-192; Brown, *Western Gazetteer,* 276-283; Darby, *Emigrant's Guide,* 226; James Flint, *Letters from America,* in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels,* IX., 150-156, 237-242; John Woods, *Two Years' Residence,* in *ibid.,* X., 235-238.

[34] Newport was laid out in 1791 by General James Taylor and in 1803 the United States arsenal was located there. The settlement across the Licking was known as Kennedy's Ferry until 1815 when the legislature named it Covington in honor of General Covington. Its proprietors were Gano and Carneal. The population of the two places combined was probably not more than five hundred in 1817. Brown, *Western Gazetteer,* 100-102; Darby, *Emigrant's Guide,* 202.

[35] The principal feature of the Lancastrian system of education, founded by Joseph Lancaster of England, was a method of mutual instruction whereby the more advanced pupils taught those below them. The first schools on this plan in the West were probably those at Wheeling and Cincinnati, both established in 1814. The Lancastrian school of Cincinnati was founded by Rev. Joshua L. Wilson and Dr. Daniel Drake and the building, located at the corner of Walnut and Fourth streets, was considered one of the finest in the West at the time. The school was afterwards merged in the College of Cincinnati, which became Cincinnati University. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels,* XI., 58, XII., 204, XIV., 66, XIX., 36, notes. Fearon gives an interesting account of the building and of the operation of the school in 1817 in his *Sketches of America,* (3d ed.) 227-228. Other contemporary accounts are in Brown, *Western Gazetteer,* 278; Darby, *Emigrant's Guide,* 225-226; George W. Ogden, *Letters from the West,* in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels,* XIX., 35-36.

saws, one Glass Factory.[36] The town is Rapidly increasing in Wealth & population. Here is a Branch of the United States Bank[37] and three other banks & two Printing offices. The country around is rich & I think I never saw as fine crops of Wheat in any other place as between the great & little miami's. We have a planty of good ripe apples pairs [*sic*] plumbs &c with all kinds of Vegetables in Market. Corn is fit to Roast. The weathe[r] is not warmer here than I have experienced in Vermont but I do not think this is a healthy place the Water is very unwholesome. I shall leave this place in a few days and go down the River. I calculate to go directly to St. Louis in the Territory of Missouri at which place I wish you would direct your letter. I desire that you would write to me as soon as you receive this. The reason why I have determined on going to St. Louis is because the Land upon the Wabash that belongs to the U. S. is mostly taken up. The greatest part of the State of Indiana is owned by the Indians.[38] I intend to go on to the Military Bounty Lands.[39] I think probable there may be some of these Lands to be bought cheap in New England & New York. I wish you would write if you know of any to be bought and what they can be bought for. I am told that these Lands are to be laid out in as good a part of the country as any in the U. S. but of this I shall know better when I see it. Land is much higher in this country than I expected and I think if you have plenty of Money you could not perhaps lay it out to better advantage than buying the Patents of those who wish to sell their lands. I have no doubt there are many who will never think of coming to look of [*sic*] their land because

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[36] Detailed statistics of manufacturing in Cincinnati, copied from the *Cincinnati Directory* of 1819, are in Flint, *Letters from America,* in Thwaites, *Early Western* Travels, IX., 238-240. There are also descriptions of the various factories in Brown, *Western Gazetteer,* 278-279.

[37] In spite of the strong opposition to the United States bank in Ohio, a branch was opened at Cincinnati in the spring of 1817. At the next session of the legislature a resolution was adopted declaring the right of the state to tax the branch and the expediency of doing so. In the face of this hostile demonstration the bank opened another branch at Chillicothe in the spring of 1818 and finally in February, 1819, an act was passed levying an admittedly prohibitive tax of fifty thousand dollars a year on each branch. The state auditor was directed to draw a warrant for the amount and enforce payment. A few weeks after the act was passed the Supreme Court of the United States rendered its decision in the famous case of *McCulloch v. Maryland,* to the effect that the bank was not subject to state taxation. The Ohio law was mandatory, however, and the auditor proceeded to enforce it. The bank having refused to pay the tax, agents of the state seized the funds of the branch at Chillicothe and turned them over to the state treasurer in spite of writs of injunction issued by the United States courts. A legal tangle ensued and at the session of 1820-1821 the legislature took a strong stand for state rights and passed an act to outlaw the bank. When the case reached the Supreme Court in 1824 as *Osborn et al. v. the Bank of the United States* it was decided in favor of the bank and the funds seized were ultimately restored. Herman V. Ames, *State Documents on Federal Relations,* 93-103; Macmaster, *History of the People of the United States.* IV., 499-504, V., 413.

[38] By 1810 the Indian claims were extinguished to the southern part of Indiana, comprising about one-third of the area of the state. The next cession was in 1816 when the Miamis gave up the triangle between the Maumee and the St. Marys rivers and this was the situation when Flagg was writing in August, 1817. In October of the following year, however, another treaty with the Miamis secured all of the territory south of the Wabash except one large and a number of small reservations. Bureau of American Ethnology, *Reports,* XVIII., part ii., map 19; William H. Smith, *History of the state of Indiana,* I., 221-239.

[39] Land warrants for 160 acres were given as bounties to private soldiers who enlisted during the War of 1812 and after the close of the war certain tracts of the public domain were set aside for the satisfaction of these warrants. The largest of these tracts was in Illinois and included all the land between the Illinois and Mississippi rivers and south of a line drawn due west from the confluence of the Illinois and Vermilion to the Mississippi—over five million acres. The Military Tract, as it was called, was surveyed and the lands assigned by lot to the holders of the warrants. The warrants themselves could not be transferred, but the land could, after it was assigned, and much of it was sold to speculators at very low prices. There was little settlement in the tract until 1823 when a rush began and in 1825 ten counties were laid out north and west of the Illinois River, in addition to Pike and Fulton which had been established in 1821 and 1823 respectively. Treat, *The National Land System,* 246-255; Nicholas B. Van Zandt, *A full Description.....of the Military Lands between the Mississippi and the Illinois Rivers;* Edmund Dana, *A Description of the Bounty Lands in the State of Illinois;* Flint, *Letters from America,* in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels,* IX., 187; Moses, *Illinois,* 385-386; *Bluebook, Illinois,* 1905, pp. 410-417; William V. Pooley, *The Settlement of Illinois from 1830 to 1850,* chap. vi.

they think it is almost out of the world but I am certain the country of the Illinois & Missouri is well situated and will shortly become a Rich country when it is settled and it is now settling very fast.

If you know of any to be bought in your vicinity I wish you would write to me what a quarter Section can be bought for not however that I would reccommend it to you to buy any until I have seen the Land unless you get it very cheap. I am Well at present and have been except 3 or 4 days ever since I left Vermont. I feel myself under the greatest obligation to you for the many favors you have been pleased to bestow upon me and for your offering to forward to me money if I should be in want thereof &c. I have a plenty at present for me. I wish you to write to me often and tel Mary to write for it is a great satisfaction to me to hear from my friends. That you may all be prospered in the world is the anxious wish of your affectionate Brother

GERSHOM FLAGG

A C FLAGG PLATTSBURGH N Y.

[*Addressed:*] Azariah C. Flagg, Plattsburgh, New York.

[*Stamped postmark:*] Cincinnati (O), Aug 6. 50

VI. To AZARIAH C. FLAGG, December 7, 1817.

ST. LOUIS Dec. 7th 1817

DEAR BROTHER,

your letter of the 14 sept. I Recd at this place the 18 ultimo, the day I arrived at this place having been detained at Cincinnati until the 19 oct. longer than I intended to collect money which was due me at that place. I took water at Cincinnati in a small flat boat with a Roof to it. We floated to the mouth of the Ohio then put our trunks on board a keel boat bound to this place & walked 174 miles the distance from the mouth of the Ohio to this place.[40] From Cincinnati to the mouth is 600 miles making a journey of 774 miles.

This town[41] is in Lat. 38° 39′ situated on a high bank on the west of the Missisipi fifteen miles below the mouth of the Missouri & 40 miles below the mouth of the Illinois River. The shore is lined with lime Stones and many of the houses are built of this material. The country for several miles back of St Louis is Prairie handsome & dry & uncultivated. The town con-

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[40] Flat boats with roofs were sometimes called arks or Orleans boats. Thadeus M. Harris in his *Journal of a Tour* (1803) describes them as "square, and flat-bottomed; about forty feet by fifteen, with sides six feet deep; covered with a roof of thin boards, and accomodated with a fire-place. They will hold from 200 to 500 barrels of flour. They require but four hands to navigate them; carry no sail, and are wafted down by the current." (Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, III., 335.) They were put together largely with wooden pins instead of nails and on arrival at their destination, were broken up and the lumber sold. Fordham, *Personal Narrative*. 79; Estwick Evans, *Pedestrious Tour*, in Thwaites *Early Western Travels*, VIII., 257.

Evans describes the keel-boats as "constructed like a whale boat, sharp at both ends; their length is about seventy feet, breadth ten feet, and they are rowed by two oars at each end. These boats will carry about twenty tons, and are worth two hundred dollars. At the stern of the boat is a steering oar, which moves like a pivot, and extends about twelve feet from the stern. These boats move down the river with great velocity.....In going up the river these boats are poled. The poles are about eight feet in length, and the bottom of them enters a socket of iron, which causes the point of the pole to sink immediately. This business is very laborious, and the progress of the boats slow." (*Ibid.*, 245.) The different varieties of river craft are described in Archer B. Hulbert, *Waterways of Western Expansion* (*Historic Highways*, IX.), 100-150.

[41] St. Louis was founded by Pierre Laclede Liguest in 1764 as a post for the fur-trade on the upper Mississippi and Missouri rivers. The transfer of the Illinois country to Great Britain in the following year resulted in a considerable migration from the French villages there to the new post across the river, a movement which was renewed during the troublous times from 1778 to 1790. In March, 1804, St. Louis was transferred to the United States and soon began to grow rapidly. The town was incorporated in 1809 and by 1818 it had a population of over three thousand. Louis Houck, *History of Missouri;* J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Saint Louis*. Contemporary descriptions can be found in Edwin James, *Expedition under Maj. S. H. Long*, in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, XIV., 108-109; Rufus Babcock, *Memoir of John Mason Peck*. chap. vii. (Peck arrived in St. Louis December 1, 1817, just thirteen days after Flagg's arrival); Brown, *Western Gazetteer*. 204; Darby, *Emigrant's Guide*, 143; Lewis C. Beck, *A Gazetteer of the States of Illinois and Missouri*, 324-331,

tains about 300* inhabitants one half French the other Americans. It has been settled a long time but did not thrive until lately it is now flourishing about one hundred houses have been built the past season, several of Brick. Here are two printing offices & two Banks a steam saw mill is building on the bank of the River. The country around is settling very fast & I think this will become a place of great business although it now does not exhibit a very handsome appearance the streets being narrow and the houses inelegant. It contains however about 30 Stores. Every thing sells high. Wheat $1.00 per bushel Corn fifty cents & oats the same & Potatoes do Beef from 4 to 6 dollar per hundred Pork do. Board from $3.50 to $6.00 per week horse keeping $4 per week. Labour is 20 dollars per month or one doll per day & boarded. Brick ten dollars a thousand & boards sell quick at the enormous sum of from 60 to 75 dollars per thousand feet house rent from 10 to 30 dollars a month town lots sell from 500 to 3000 dollars.

I should have answered your letter before if I had had an opportunity but the mail did not arive for three weeks past until the 28 Nov, at which time I was absent in the Illinois Territory. The mail is very Irregular the country below here being often overflowed. At the same time I recd your letter I recd one from Artemas of the same date of yours. I also recd one from my Mother on the 4 inst. dated oct 8 which stated that Artemas was married &c. It gives me pleasure to hear of your prosperity & I am much pleased with the addition you have made to your Library, I think if I could have an opportunity to peruse your Library it would be time well spent but at present I have no opportunities of gaining much knowledge of the Sciences except Geography. I am pleased with this Country it is the Richest soil and most handsomely situated of any I have ever seen. I have not seen the Military bounty Lands nor can I get business of surveying at present. The surveyor Genl. informs me that 3½ Million of acres have been surveyed N. W. of the Illinois River & that ½ Million is to be surveyed N. [*MS. torn*] of the Missouri River & 2 Millions between [the] Rivers Arkansas & St Francis. If [you sh]ould purchase any Patents let them [be] in the Illinois Territory for the Missouri is not so good. I know the Laws respecting the Military Bounty lands & you will recollect that when I wrote you on the subject the Pattents were not & could not be issued & I did not suppose the Land would be drawn so soon as was advertised the 25 sept. which was the reason I wished you to wait until I had seen the Land For I tho't there was not a good chance to purchase before the Patents were issued. I am told by the Surveyors that the Land is Rich handsome & well watered but poorly timbered. I am not anxious about your purchasing any for I do not expect it will be settled soon & if it does not the land will not be so valuable as it otherwise would be.

I am told that one half of the Lands are Prairie and the other timbered. The timbered Land will be very valuable and the Prairie the reverse so that it is like a Lottery you have about an equal chance to draw a great prize & it must be some prize because the Land is to be fit for cultivation. Some say that the Prairie that has no timber upon it will be returned unfit for cultivation to the General Land Office But I think this will not be the case.[42] If you should purchase any you will be good enough to let me know the No &c as soon as convenient.

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* Flagg undoubtedly intended to write 3000.

[42] This low opinion of the value of prairie land was almost universal among the early pioneers. They were inclined to believe that land upon which trees did not grow could be of little value for agricultural purposes. Thus in 1786 James Monroe, afterwards president of the United States, wrote of the Northwest: "A great part of the territory is miserably poor, especially that near Lakes Michigan and Erie, and that upon the Mississippi and the Illinois consists of extensive plains which have not, from appearances, and will not have, a single bush on them for ages. The districts, therefore, within which these fall will never contain a sufficient number of inhabitants to entitle them to membership in the confederacy." There were, however, certain real obstacles to the occupation of the prairies by the early settlers, most important of which were: lack of water; lack of wood for buildings, fences, and fuel; and difficulties of transportation. It was not until after the coming of the railroads and the opening up of the great coal-beds in

I have Located 264 acres of Land in the Illinois Territory 26 miles from this place & about ten from the Mouth of the Missouri River about half of it is Rich dry Prairie & the Remainder timbered with Oak Hickory Elm Walnut &c. I shall stay in St. Louis this winter & how much longer I know not. I am in good health & Remain your affectionat[e] Brothe[r] My Love to my Sister &c.

GERSHOM FLAGG

A. C. FLAGG

[*Addressed:*] A. C. Flagg, Plattsburgh, New York.
[*Stamped postmark:*] St. Louis D [*illegible*] 25

VII. To DR. AND MRS. EBENEZER FLAGG,[43] February 1, 1818.

ST LOUIS (MRI. TER.) 1st Feb. 1818

RESPECTED PARENTS,

I have received too much of your kindness to suppose you are indifferent as to my welfare. I have the pleasure to inform you that I am in perfect health & have enjoyed my health since I left you most of the time. I was sick a few days in Cincinnati & again going down the Ohio River But I enjoy my health better now, than when I left Vermont. I left Vermont you will recollect the 23d sept. 1816—arrived at Springfield C. C. (O) the 8 of Nov. & as Mr Coleman would not proceede any farther I concluded it would be better not to proceede alone as the season was so far advanced & money not so flush with me as I could have wished. I intended to have proceeded on my Journey in April or may but I could get no one to accompany me & people who had been in this country told me that I ought not to come into it in the Spring if I did they said I should be likely to get Sick. Upon these considerations I agreed to stay in Cincinnati until the last of Sept at which time a young man, formerly from Montpelier Vermont, agreed to go with me. But by some disappointments we did not get off until the 19th of Oct. We bought a flat boat with a covering to it and floated down the River after laying in a sufficient quantity of Provisions. We had a very good pasage But got tossed about some at the falls of the Ohio opposite Louisville about which large boats & Steam Boats cannot pass except in the Spring or fall when the waters rise 30 or 40 feet.[44] It is a very dismal looking place after we pass the mouth of the wabash the banks of the River being generally unsettled & covered with willows, cane breaks, & Prodigious large Cotton wo[o]d, a species of the Poplar. The water overflows for several weeks at the junction of the Ohio & Mississippi Rivers the depth of 15 or 20 feet. When we got to the mouth of the Ohio we put our trunks & chests on board a keel Boat bound to this place and walked on foot ourselves a distance of 174 miles. A great part of the way we had very wet

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the state that the immense treeless prairies of northern Illinois were fully taken up. Monroe, *Writings*, (Hamilton edition), I., 117; Clarence W. Alvord, *Illinois—the origins* (*Military Tract Papers*, No. 3), pp. 14-16; Boggess, *The Settlement of Illinois*, 97, 130-131; Pooley, *Settlement of Illinois*, 539-543.

Flagg, himself, failed to select the best land available in his locality, according to present day standards, because it was not well timbered.

[43] Ebenezer Flagg was born in Lancaster, Massachusetts, in 1756. He served in the Continental Army during the Revolution and soon afterwards moved to Rutland county, Vermont, where he was married to Elizabeth Cutting of Shoreham. In 1799 he purchased a farm in Richmond, Vermont, and there spent the remainder of his life, farming and practicing medicine. He died in 1828 and his widow died ten years later. *Flagg Family Records*, 36.

[44] The Ohio River falls about twenty-five feet in the two and a half miles between Louisville and Shippingport. Except in times of high water, it was necessary, until the completion of a canal around the falls in 1830, to unload all large boats at one end and portage the cargoes to the other. Small craft were usually conducted down stream by pilots. The first permanent settlement at Louisville was made in 1778 by a group of pioneers who accompanied George Rogers Clark thus far on his expedition to the Illinois. The town was laid out in 1779 and was incorporated by the Virginia legislature in 1780. The natural advantages of the site produced a rapid development and Louisville is said to have had a population of thirteen hundred in 1811 and over four thousand in 1820. Reuben T. Durrett, *The Centenary of Louisville* (Filson Club, *Publications*, No. 8.) Contemporary descriptions can be found in Fearon, *Sketches of America*, 242-252; Brown, *Western Gazetteer*, 103-105; Darby, *Emigrant's Guide*, 207; H. McMurtrie, *Sketches of Louisville*, (Louisville, 1819.)

muddy walking & some of the way had to wade in the water. We arrived at this place the 18th of Nov. I have travel[e]d since I left Vermont 1794 miles—from Richmond to Springfield C. C. Ohio is 900 from thence to Cincinnati 75 thence to the mouth of the Ohio by water 645 thence to st. Louis 174 miles from Cincinnati to this place by land is about 400 miles which would make it by land 1375 miles & I suppose it is about 1300 miles the nearest Road that can be traveled. It is 1250 miles in a direct line as I calculate from the Lat. & Longitude of the places. This being in Lat. 38° 18′ & Lon. 12° 41′ W. & Richmond Vt. in Lat. 44° 24′ N & Lon. 4° 13′ E. from Washington. I have entered 264 a[cres of] Land 25 miles from this place [&] 10 or 12 from [the] mouth of the Missouri River Part Prairie and part timbered land. I have not much to write to you respecting the Country but as I hope to see you in a year or so I will then tell you all you wish to know. I will only say that it is the handsomest and best country that I have ever seen. In places there is Prairies as far as the eye can reach covered with tall grass higher than a mans head.

The Climate is mild we have had but little snow here this winter the River is not frozen but is full of floating Ice. Although the distance between us is lon yet my affections for you & My Brothers & Sisters is stil the same. I hope you will not neglect the education of my two young Brothers as education is the best thing you can give them.[45] Give my love to them and all my Brothers & sisters & friends & may peace & health attend you all.

GERSHOM FLAGG

DEAR MOTHER,

With the greatest pleasure I Recd your kind favor of the 8 Oct. on the 1st Dec. It gives me pleasure to hear from my friends so I hope you will write often. I also Recd letters from Artemas & Azariah on [my arr]ival at this place. Both were dated sept 14th but did [not] mention that Artemas was Married which your [letter states] took place two days before the date of the letters.[46] You [will] please to give my love to my new sister & tell her as she is now become a connexion she will do me a favor by writing to me especially as my sisters do not. I am placed in such a situation that I have to write more letters than I receive I have to write to several in the state of Ohio respecting this country for altho' you say the Ohio feever is abated in Vermont—the Missouri & Illinois feever Rages greatly in Ohio, Kentucky, & Tennessee and carries off thousand[s]. When I got to Ohio my Ohio feever began to turn but I soon caught the Missouri feever which is very catchin and carried me off. I think most probable I shall return if my life & health is spared a year from next spring but it is very uncertain whether I stay in that country. Surely nothing except my friends would tempt me ever to se[e] Vermont again. I hope you will pardon me for not writing sooner as I have been so much engaged that I could not.

G FLAGG

[*In margin:*] I have enclosed my profile taken by an Italian at Cincinnati.
[*Addressed:*] Doct. Ebenezer Flagg, Burlington, Vermont.
[*Stamped postmark:*] St. Louis, Feb 8. 25

VIII. To ARTEMAS FLAGG, September 12, 1818.

EDWARDSVILLE MADISON COUNTY,[47] ILLINOIS TERRITORY, 12 Sept. 1818

DEAR BROTHER,

Your letter of the 31st May mailed June 8, I received, the 23d July which informed me that you were all well at the time. May this continue [to] be your good fortune and may these lines reach you as they leave me in good

[45] Besides the two older brothers to whom most of these letters were addressed, Gershom Flagg had six sisters and two brothers younger than himself. The brothers were ten and five years old respectively at this time. See notes 1, 10, 14, 83, 96, 102, 111, 112.

[46] According to the *Flagg Family Records* (page 41) Artemas Flagg was married September 6, 1817, to Betsey Squires, the daughter of Stephen and Bethia (Bishop) Squires.

[47] The territory of the present Madison County is said to have been explored about 1799 by Rev. David Badgley and called Goshen. A settlement of that name was started the following year in the southern part of the county. The site of Edwardsville was first occupied by Thomas Kirkpatrick in 1805 and during the

health. As you may wish to know something of the Country in which I live I will write a few lines respecting it. The Territory of Illinois contains nearly all that part of the United States Territory east of the Mississippi and N. W. of the Ohio & Wabash Rivers. The late law of Congress enabling the people to form a Constitution & State Goverment makes the boundaries on the S. & W. Ohio & Missisippi Rivers on the East by Indiana State N by 42° 30′ N. Lat. The conjunction of the Ohio & Missisippi Rivers is in Lat 37° N so that this Territory is 350 miles in length.[48] The face of the Country is very level without any. mountains and but few hills. It is not exceeded by levelness [or] richness of soil by any in the United States. The prairies are very large while the timbered land is confined almost wholly to the intervales and low rounds. Where ever the land is high and dry enough for the fire to run in the spring & fall the timber is all destroyed.[49] The Soil is of such an alluvial nature that the water courses cut out deep chanels from 6 to 20 feet deep generally. Where this is the case the streams do not overflow.

We have all kinds of soil from midling poor to the very best. It produces Corn & Wheat better than any other Country I have seen. It also produces hemp, flax, Mellons, Sweet potatoes, Turnips & all kinds of vegetables except Irish Potatoes as good as any other Country. Cotton is raised sufficient for domestic use a very small piece of ground produces enough for a family.

We have plenty of Apples Peaches &c in places. Grapes & of several kinds and several kinds of Wild plumbs & Cherries in profusion also Dew Berries Black berries Strawberries. The bottom Prairies are covered with Weeds of different kinds and grass about 8 feet high. The high Prairies are also thickly covered with grass but finer & not so tall. The prairies are continually covered (in the summer season) with wild flowers of all colors which gives them a very handsome appearance. These high Prairies are smoother than any intervale & not a stone, log, or anything but grass & weeds to be seen for miles excep[t] where they border the timber there is generally a

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Indian troubles which preceded the War of 1812 a block-house known as Kirkpatrick's fort was constructed there. Madison county was laid out in 1812 as embracing all of Illinois Territory north of the present line between Madison and St. Clair counties and Kirkpatrick's place was chosen for the county seat. The town was laid out in 1815 or 1816 and appears to have had sixty or seventy houses when Flagg arrived there in 1818. The county probably had a population of over five thousand at that time. *History of Madison County* (Edwardsville, Brink, 1882), pp. 44, 71, 332; Moses, *Illinois*, I., 272, 548; *Bluebook, Illinois*, 1905, p. 396; Pooley, *Settlement of Illinois* 319-320; Edmund Dana, *Geographical Sketches of the Western Country* (Cincinnati 1819), pp. 142-143.

[48] The Territory of Illinois was set off from Indiana Territory by act of Congress of February 3, 1809. It embraced all that part of the old Northwest Territory west of the Wabash River and of a line due north from Vincennes to the Canadian boundary. Thus it included nearly all of the present state of Wisconsin and parts of Minnesota and Northern Michigan. As a result of an agitation on the part of the inhabitants, practically all of whom dwelt in the southern one-third of the present state, the territory was advanced to the second stage with an elective legislature by act of Congress of May 21, 1812. After the close of the War of 1812 and the accompanying Indian troubles, the population of the territory increased rapidly and in January, 1818, Nathaniel Pope, its delegate in Congress presented a petition from the legislature for admission to the Union. The enabling act, which was passed by Congress April 18, 1818, fixed the boundaries of the state as given above. The measure as originally introduced provided that the boundary should be a line drawn through the southern end of Lake Michigan. This was in accordance with the plan outlined by the Ordinance of 1787 but the efforts of Mr. Pope induced Congress to fix the boundary forty miles further north, a change which has been considered by many as a violation of the Ordinance. Be that as it may, the history of the state would have been very different had it not included the fourteen northern counties and the city of Chicago. Moses, *Illinois*, 226, 258, 276-281, 529-533; Thomas Ford, *History of Illinois*, 19-24.

[49] The early opinion that the treeless condition of the prairies was due to the poor quality of the soil was soon found to be untenable and was succeeded quite generally by the belief that the prairies were caused or at least perpetuated by the annually recurrent fires. There is a considerable literature on the subject of the origin of the prairies. See, for example, Caleb Atwater, *On the Prairies and Barrens of the West*, in Silliman's *American Journal of Science*, I., 116-125, (1819); R. W. Wells, *On the Origin of the Prairies*, in *ibid.*, 331-337; John D. Caton, *The Origin of the Prairies*, in his *Miscellanies*, (also published separately). Many of the travelers discussed the question as Faux, *Memorable Days*, in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, XI., 280-281; James, *Account of an Expedition under Maj. S. H. Long*, in *ibid.*, XV., 166-167; Edmund Flagg, *The Far West*, in *ibid.*, XXVI., 342-346.

thicket of plumb bushes, hazel grape vines, &c &c. The Roots of the grass are very tough it generally requires 3 yoke of Oxen or six horses to plough up the prairies & the plough must be kept at a keen edge by filing often, the steel not being hardened, but this is all that is to be done excep[t] fencing to raise a crop. After one year the ground is mellow and requires but a light team to plough it. The Timber in this Country is very different from any you have seen. The most Common timber is White, Black, Spanish, post, Chincopin, Pin, and Burrh Oak, Walnut Black & White, Basswood, Cherry Button wood Ash, Elm, Sassafras, Sumach, Elder, Honey locust, Mulberry, Crab Apple Thorn of different kinds Red-bud, Pecon, Hackberry Maple, Cotton Wood, Pawpaw which bears a fruit larger than an apple.[50] The timber is not so good as I have seen, generally, the fire kills & checks the growth every year. When the fire gets into high thick grass it goes faster than a horse can Run & burns the Prairie smooth.

The situation of this Territory is good for trade having the advantage of Water carriage on all sides the Missisipi on the West the Ohio & Wabash S. E. & the Kaskaskia and Illinois in the interior of the Territory. The Illinois which is about 400 miles in length heads near Lake Michigan. A branch of the Illinois heads within 4 miles of the head of Chicago a short River which empties into Lake michgon [*sic*]. In freshe[t]s boats pass this portage the waters being connected They are made shallow for the purpose. I have seen them at St. Louis landing.[51] I think there will be a canall cut to connect the waters of Illinois & Chicago at no distant period. From information the expense would not be great. One hundred thousand acres of Land is appropriated for this purpose.[52] This done we have a water communication from almost any part of the Territory to the states of Indiana Ohio & Pensylvania on either side of those stat[e]s. Also with New York by the way of Lake Erie & an easy Communication with the Ocean by New Orleans. One steam Boat Run from St. Louis to Louisville Kentucky the last season and another from St. Louis, to New Orleans.[53] One of them came up to St. Louis the 1st January last and returned but the Ice generally covers

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[50] There are contemporary descriptions of the flora of Illinois in Fordham, *Personal Narrative*, 119; and Woods, *Two Years' Residence*, in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, X., 281-292. On the flora of Madison county, see *History of Madison County* (1882), pp. 64-65.

[51] The branch of the Illinois referred to is the Des Plaines. This passage was recently introduced as evidence of the navigability of the Des Plaines River in the early days in an important lawsuit in which the United States government is endeavoring to prove that fact. For other evidences of the existence at times of a continuous waterway from the Illinois to Lake Michigan, see Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the last ten Years*, 102; Ebenezer Childs, *Recollections of Wisconsin*, in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, IV., 163; John H. Fonda, *Early Wisconsin*, in *ibid.*, V., 216.

[52] The idea of a canal to connect the waters of Lake Michigan and the Illinois River is said to have been first suggested by Joliet in 1673. Secretary Gallatin included it in his report on roads and canals of 1808 and in 1816 the Indians were induced to cede the land through which such a canal would pass. In 1822 Congress authorized the construction of the canal by the state and donated ninety feet of land on each side. Five years later Congress passed another act donating the alternate sections on each side of the proposed route for five miles in width, amounting in all to nearly 225,000 acres. For a time a controversy raged as to whether a canal or a railroad should be constructed but finally in 1836 work was begun on the canal. The project became involved in the extensive internal improvement system of 1837 and construction was suspended during the ensuing financial depression. Finally, however, the canal was completed from La Salle on the Illinois River to Lake Michigan and its great utility was quickly demonstrated. In 1882 the state ceded the canal to the United States government and in 1900 the Chicago Sanitary District completed the construction of a drainage canal along the route at a cost of about thirty-five million dollars. At the present time there is a strong movement under way in favor of the construction of a deep waterway or ship-canal by the state and the United States government. Thus the Illinois-Michigan water route has been an almost constant factor in the history of the state. Moses, *Illinois*, I., 461-468, II., 1339-1343; Boggess, *Settlement of Illinois*, 110, 141-142.

Flagg was mistaken in his statement that one hundred thousand acres of land had been appropriated for the canal at the time when he was writing.

[53] The first steamboat on the western waters was the *New Orleans*, which made the trip down the Ohio and Mississippi in 1811. In 1815 the *Enterprise* made the first trip up the rivers to Louisville and on August 2, 1817, the *General Pike* was the first steamboat to reach St. Louis. Flagg is said to have helped to paint this boat during the winter of 1817-1818, which he spent in St. Louis. George H. Preble, *History of Steam Navigation* 66-72; Moses, *Illinois*, I., 389; Babcock,

the River in January & Febuary That is, drifting ice, for the Missisipi was not shut over last winter at St louis tho' it sometimes is. The Missouri was frozen over last winter. There are 8 or 10 steam boats on the Ohio and Missisipi Rivers and more building there was two built in Cincinnati last summer, & one at the Rising Sun[54] and one at New Albany[55] below the falls of Ohio. The Trade from St. Louis to Orleans is very considerable there are in St. Louis between 40 & 50 mercantile Stores.

We have a great plenty of Deer, Turkies, Wolves, Opossoms Prairie hens, Eagles, Turky Buzzards, Swans, Geese, ducks, Brant, sand hill Cranes, Parokites & with many other small Animals & birds. Gray squirrels are as thick here as I have ever seen stripeid [*sic*] ones in Vermont.[56] There is more honey here in this Territory I suppose than in any other place in the world, I have heard the Hunters say that they have found 8 or 10 swarms in a day on the St. Gama[57] & Illinois Rivers where there are no settlements (Truly this must be the Land of Milk & honey.) The Climate is not so hot as might be expected there is almost a continual breeze blowing from the large prairies like the breezes on large Lakes & ponds. The country is so open that it is considerable cold in Winter the ground freezes very hard There being generally but little snow. The past summer has been very hot more than common I am told. The Thermometer on the hottest day stood at 98°. I learn from the News Papers that the Weather has been very hot in different parts of the United States.

The Stock of this Country consists principally of horses horned Cattle & hogs. Sheep will do very well here if they can be kept from the Wolves but this cannot well be done in the newsettled parts the wolves are so very numerous. Hogs will live & get fat in the Woods and Prairies. I have seen some as fat upon Hickorynuts, Acorns, Pecons & Walnuts, as ever I did those that were fat[t]ed upon Corn. All that prevents this country being as full of Wild hogs as of Deer is the Wolves which kill the pigs when the sows are not shut up til the pigs are a few weeks old. There are places in this Territory where Cattle & horses will live all winter & be in good order without feeding, that is upon the Rivers. Most of the people cut no hay for their Cattle & horses but this is a foolish way of theirs they either have to feed out their Corn or their Cattle get very poor. Cattle & horses do very well in this Country they get very fat by the middle of June. They do not gain much after this being so harrassed by swarms of flies which prevent their feeding any in the heat of the day. They are so bad upon horses that it is almost impossible to travel from the 15 June til the 1st Sept unles a horse is covered with blankets. Where ever a fly lights upon a horse a drop of blood starts. I have seen white horses red with blood that these flies had drawn out of him. As the Country becomes settled these flies disappear.

Memoir of John Mason Peck, 81; Boggess, *Settlement of Illinois,* 123; *Flagg Family Records,* 51; *History of Madison County, Illinois* (1882), pp. 86-87. There is a list of steamboats on the western waters from 1812 to 1819 in H. McMurtrie's *Sketches of Louisville* (Louisville, 1819), pp. 200-204.

[54] Rising Sun, Indiana, is on the Ohio River about thirty-six miles by water from Cincinnati. It was founded in 1814 by John James from Maryland and is said to have contained thirty or forty houses in 1817. It is now the seat of Ohio county. Brown, *Western Gazetteer,* 52; Thwaites, *Early Western Travels,* XXIV., 142, note.

[55] New Albany, Indiana, is on the Ohio River about five miles below Louisville. It was laid out in 1813 by three Scribner brothers from New York. Brown in his *Western Gazetteer* (page 63) speaks of the place in 1817 as having been "puffed throughout the Union; but has not yet realized the anticipations of the proprietors." It is said, however, to have had a hundred and fifty houses and a population of a thousand in 1819 and it is now a manufacturing city with a population of over twenty-five thousand. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels,* X., 44, note.

[56] There are contemporary accounts of the fauna of Illinois in Fordham, *Personal Narrative,* 119; and Woods, *Two Years' Residence,* in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels,* X., 281-292. On the fauna of Madison county, see *History of Madison County* (1882), pp. 65-67.

[57] By St. Gama the writer means the Sangamon. The Sangamon country had the reputation of possessing exceptional advantages for settlers and was filled in rapidly during the twenties, Springfield being laid out in 1823. Moses, *Illinois,* I., 385, 430.

It appears from the returns to the secretary that there is in this Territory upwards of 40,000 Inhabitants.[58] The Convention which met the first mondy [*sic*] in August have formed a Constitution but it is not yet published as soon as it is I will send you a Copy.[59] The Gov. is to be Chosen for 4 years as also the senate the members of the lower house are chosen once in two years the Legeslature to set biennally. I have delayed writing for several days to hear whether Simeon Manuel was in St. Louis but can hear nothing of him. P. P. Enos formerly of Woodstock Vermont[60] now lives in St. Louis and he tells me he knows no such man there.

William S. Wait Son of Thomas B Wait of Boston Mass. was in this Territory last March and bought 2500 Acres of Land & told me he should return to this Country to live.[61] . . . Jason Chamberlin from Burlington lives

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[58] By act of January 7, 1818, the legislature of Illinois Territory provided for a census to be taken between April 1, and June 1, 1818. Three days later another act was passed providing for a supplementary census in each county of all persons who should move into the county between June 1, and December 1. The enabling act, passed by Congress April 18, 1818, conditioned the admission of the proposed state upon this enumeration showing a population of at least forty thousand, and the marshals are said to have resorted to various devices for swelling their rolls. The returns were finally made to foot up to forty thousand but it is probable that the actual population at the time did not exceed thirty-five thousand. Some questions were raised in Congress as to the accuracy of the returns but the state was admitted and two years later the federal census showed it to have a population of 55,162. *Laws of Illinois Territory*, 6th session (Reprint), 42-45; Moses, *Illinois*, 282; William H. Brown, *Early History of Illinois* (*Fergus Historical Series*, No. 14), p. 86.

The original schedules of the census of 1818, containing the names of heads of families, and other information, are in the office of the secretary of state at Springfield. Together with the schedules of a state census taken in 1820, they make up a large folio volume. So far as is known, not even the aggregates by counties of the census of 1818 have ever been published but the State Historical Library is planning to publish the schedules entire.

[59] In accordance with the terms of the enabling act, a convention composed of twenty-three members met at Kaskaskia, August 3, 1818 and proceeded to frame a constitution for the embryo state. The resulting instrument, which is said to have been put together by Elias Kent Kane, was modeled largely on those of Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana, with the peculiar feature of the council of revision borrowed from that of New York. It can be found conveniently in Moses, *Illinois*, I., 533-544. On the convention, see, *ibid.*, 282-284; W. H. Brown, *Early history of Illinois*, 86-88.

[60] Woodstock, the seat of Windsor county, is located about half way between Montpelier and the Massachusetts line and ten miles from the Connecticut River.

Pascal Paoli Enos was born at Windsor, Connecticut, in 1770. He graduated from Dartmouth college in 1794, served in the Vermont legislature in 1804, and was married at Woodstock in 1815 to Salome, daughter of Gaius Paddock. The same year he moved with the Paddocks to Cincinnati and the next year they went on to St. Louis, settling first at St. Charles and then, in 1817, at St. Louis. In 1821 they moved to Madison county, Illinois, where Gaius Paddock purchased a quarter-section adjoining that of Gershom Flagg. A few years later—1827—Flagg was married to Mrs. Jane Paddock Richmond, oldest daughter of Gaius Paddock, and thus became a brother-in-law of Enos. In 1823, Enos was appointed receiver of public monies for the new land office to be established in the Sangamon country. He moved there at once and became one of the four proprietors of the city of Springfield. (See note 115.) He died at Springfield in 1832. John C. Power, *History of the Early Settlers of Sangamon County*, 289; *History of Madison County* (1882), p. 478.

[61] Thomas Baker Wait, born in 1762 of Welsh parents, was a printer, publisher and bookseller with headquarters in Portland and Boston. William Smith Wait, his son, was born in Portland in 1789 and joined with his father in the publishing business. In June, 1817, he started for the West, reached St. Louis January 3, 1818; made an entry of land in Ripley township, Bond county, Illinois, on February 17, 1818; and was back in Boston by the middle of July. Two years later he was married to Sarah Newhall and started at once for Illinois where they commenced farming on his land in Bond county. From 1824 to 1835 Wait was again in the service of the publishing house, traveling in the Middle States and the West, but in the latter year he located permanently on a farm near Greenville in Bond county. In 1845 he was the chairman of a National Industrial Convention which met in New York and in 1848 he was nominated for vice-president of the United States on a ticket with Gerrit Smith by a convention made up of representatives of labor organizations which called itself the National Reform Association. He declined the nomination. During his later years he was interested in promoting railroads and was one of the incorporators of the St. Louis and Illinois Bridge Company. He died in 1864. William H. Perrin, *History of Bond and Montgomery Counties*, Pt. ii., pp. 33-35, (portrait, Pt. I., p. 27); *Niles Register*, LXXIV., 69-77, 324-329, 348.

at Cape Gerardeau[62] a small Town on the West Bank of Missisipi about 120 miles below St. Louis. I saw his wife when I was coming up the River but he was gone to Arkansaw on business. Charles Peck who once lived with Moses Spencer now lives 18 miles from the Mouth of the Missouri at St. Charles[63] a small town on the North side of the Missouri, his Brother a blacksmith lives at the same place.

You mention that Stephen Hallock had gone to Darby Creek Ohio. I have also heard that Gideon wright was there. I have been there myself. That part of the country is entirely level very Rich and in the spring covered with water. Darby Creek is a Branch of the Scioto River.[64]

The 26 April I Recd a letter from you dated 6 July 1817 and post marked Hubbardton[65] July 9th having been 9 months & 17 days on the way having been mislaid as I suppose. You have been very particular in you[r] letters which has given me much satisfaction but you still complain of you[r] inability to write I wish you would not try to excuse your self from wr[i]ting on that head but write as often as you can get time for I have money enough to pay the Postage and it never goes more freely than to hear from my friends and nothing gives me more satisfaction than reading your Letters.

I have not been able to get any employment in surveying The Lands haveing been principally surveyed in the winter of 1816-7. There was then upwards of 80 Companies employed upwards of 4 months. They surveyed the Military Bounty Lands and most of the other Lands where the Indian title was extinguished, 3½ Millions of Acres of Bounty lands were survd between the Missisipi and Illinois Rivers. There is now considerable surveying to be done but the Surveyor General, Rector, has so many connections that are Surveyors that it is not possible for a stranger to get any Contract of any importance. Goverment Gives 3 dollars a mile for surveying all publick lands. Some who are not Surveyors (but favorites) make Contracts for surveying and then hire it done. I was offered 25 dollars a month last winter to go with another surveyor but did not choose to go under a man who did not know as much as I did myself.[66]

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[62] The first settler at Cape Girardeau was a French trader named Louis Lorimier, who established himself there under authority of a grant made by Baron de Carondelet in 1793. Americans soon began to settle in the surrounding country and in 1806 the seat of justice of the district was located on Lorimier's land. He laid out the town the same year and it grew rapidly for a few years until checked by a controversy over land titles and the removal of the county-seat to Jackson in 1814. The village was described in 1820 as comprising about twenty log cabins, several of which were in ruins. Houck, *History of Missouri*, consult index; James, *Expedition under Maj. S. H. Long*, in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, XVII., 39; Darby, *Emigrant's Guide*, 142.

[63] The first settlement at St. Charles was made by a Frenchman named Louis Blanchette in 1769. The place grew rapidly after the American occupation and is described as containing a hundred houses and having a population of a thousand in 1818. Some of the sessions of the territorial legislature were held there. Houck, *History of Missouri*, II., 79-88; Brown, *Western Gazetteer*, 204; Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years*, 120-126; James, *Expedition under Maj. S. H. Long*, in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, XIV., 126-127.

[64] The Darby Creek country lies east of Champaign county and between it and Columbus. The stream is about a hundred miles long and flows southeasterly through Union, Madison, Franklin, and Pickaway counties to the Scioto a mile above Circleville.

[65] Hubbardton is a post-village in a town of the same name in Rutland county, Vermont.

[66] William Rector, surveyor-general of Illinois, Missouri, and Arkansas from 1814 to 1824, was born in Farquier county, Virginia. The family, which was a large one, settled in Kaskaskia in 1806 but soon after removed to St. Louis. The nepotism displayed by Rector in the awarding of contracts for surveying finally got him into trouble with the authorities at Washington. On January 17, 1823, the House of Representatives called on the secretary of the treasury for information about contracts for surveying, whether the surveys were actually made by the contractors, whether they were faithfully executed, and the price paid per mile. The papers sent in throw little light on the matter but on February 25, the Senate called specifically for copies of contracts made by Rector since January 1, 1819; and of the ninety-eight contracts in the list sent in, seventeen were with men who bore the name of Rector. (*American State Papers, Public Lands*, III., 618-620, IV., 19-25.) On January 25, 1823, while the surveyor-general was in Washington, endeavoring to prevent the loss of his position, Joshua Barton, attorney-general of Missouri, published in the *Missouri Republican* an assertion "That the surveyor-general indulged in the practice of giving out the largest and best con-

I Entered 420 Acres of Land near this place and about 25 mils from St. Louis and 10 or 12 from the Conjunction of the Missisippi and Missouri Rivers and 18 or 20 from the Mouth of Illinois nearly in Lat. 38° 30′ North. I now own only 160 acres haveing sold the remainder for $285. dollars being double what I gave for it. The quarter Section which I now own[67] is on the trail which leads from Edwardsville to fort Clark which is at the south end of Illinois Lake a dilation of the Illinois River 210 miles from its mouth following its meanderings.[68] This fort was built in the time of the Late War. This with the forts at Chicago and fox River which empties into green bay, Macinau, Prairie des Chien, and fort Edwards on the Missisippi below the mouth of Rock River[69] serve to regulate the Indian trade and protect the Frontiers from the savages. The United States have also garisons upon Red River, Arkansaw, and Missouri Rivers.

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tracts for surveying to his family connections and personal friends, who sub-let them; and, without incurring any particular labor, responsibility, or risk, were enabled to pocket considerable emoluments." Barton was at once challenged by Thomas C. Rector, one of the brothers of the surveyor-general who had been given some of the contracts. It is said that Thomas Rector admitted the truth of the charges but declared that the publication was offensive and demanded satisfaction. The duel was fought on "Bloody Island" in the Mississippi River and Barton was killed. Thomas Rector was indicted for murder by the grand jury of St. Clair county, Illinois, and Governor Coles issued a requisition for him upon the Governor of Missouri but nothing further seems to have been done in the case. (*Illinois Historical Collections*, IV., 56-57.) After the duel Edward Bates, a prominent lawyer of St. Louis, offered to prove that no less than twenty relatives and connections of the surveyor-general had received appointments as deputy-surveyors and had sub-let the contracts at enormous profits. When William Rector returned from Washington, he issued a general denial of the charges, but he lost his place in 1824 and the family sank into obscurity. Thomas was killed in a brawl a few years later and William is said to have died in poverty and misery somewhere in Illinois in 1826. John Reynolds, *Pioneer History of Illinois*, (Chicago, 1887), pp. 353-354, 360; Scharf, *History of Saint Louis*, I., 98; Houck, *History of Missouri*, III., 255-256. Reynolds is in error in his statement that Rector was appointed surveyor-general in 1816. It was in 1814. (Thomas Donaldson, *The Public Domain*, 171.) There are several volumes of manuscripts bearing on this case in the General Land Office at Washington, Division E., including a "Copy of the opinion of the Attorney Genl. of the United States in relation to the conduct of William Rector," dated June 10, 1824.

[67] The southeast quarter of section 3, township 5, range 8, being on Liberty Prairie in the township of Fort Russell and about six miles north of Edwardsville. The farm is now owned and occupied by Hon. Norman G. Flagg, grandson of the writer of these letters. The neighborhood was known as Paddocks' Settlement (John M. Peck, *Gazetteer of Illinois*, 2d ed., p. 265) and there was once a post-office there by the name of Paddocks' Grove. The post-office now is at the village of Moro, about four miles west.

[68] A settlement was formed on the west bank of Peoria or Illinois Lake by French missionaries and traders early in the eighteenth century but the site proved unhealthy and during the latter part of the century it was transferred to the location of the present city of Peoria at the foot of the lake. In 1812 Governor Edwards sent Captain Craig with some troops on an expedition up the Illinois River. The captain became convinced that the traders at Peoria were assisting the Indians against the Americans and proceeded to burn the village and carry off most of the inhabitants. The following year Fort Clark was constructed on the site by General Benjamin Howard but it was abandoned after the war closed and was burned by the Indians. Settlement of Peoria by Americans began in 1819 and in 1824 the American Fur Company established a post there. The place was long known as Fort Clark, however. C. Ballance, *History of Peoria*, especially chap. x.; Moses, *Illinois*, I., 271; Ninian W. Edwards, *History of Illinois and Life and Times of Ninian Edwards*, 65-72.

The trail which Flagg mentions was originally an Indian trail from the Missisippi to Lake Michigan. It is said to have been used by Governor Edwards in his expedition northward from Fort Russell in 1812 and was sometimes known as the Old Edwards Trace. It developed later into an important stage road. Zimri A. Enos, *The old Indian Trail*, in Illinois State Historical Society, *Journal*, IV., 218-222, (July, 1911). See also note 115.

[69] At the treaty of Greenville in 1795, the Indians ceded a tract six miles square at Chicago and there Fort Dearborn was erected in 1804. The fort was evacuated on August 15, 1812, because of the danger of an attack by the English and the Indians. The garrison, together with some of the traders and their families started for Fort Wayne but had gone only a short distance when the Indians fell upon the party and massacred most of its members. The fort was rebuilt in 1816 by Captain Hezekiah Bradley and was occupied by United States troops from 1816 to 1823, from 1828 to 1831, and from 1832 to 1836, when it was finally evacuated. Moses, *Illinois*, 247-252; John Wentworth, *Fort Dearborn*, (*Fergus Historical Series*, No. 16).

The fort at Green Bay was Fort Howard, erected in 1816. (See note 29.) Mackinac, at the straits between Lake Huron and Lake Michigan was an important

The people of This Territory are from all parts of the United States & do the least work I believe of any people in the world. Their principal business is hunting deer, horses hogs and Cattle and raising Corn. They have no pasture but turn every thing out to run at large and when they want to use a horse or oxen they will have to travel half a dozen miles to find them through grass and weeds higher than a man can reach when on horse back and the grass and vines are so rough that nothing but their Leather hunting shirts and trowsers will stand any Chance at all.

These kind of People as soon as the settlements become thick Clear out and go further into the new Country.[10] The method of Raising Corn here is to plough the ground once then furrow it both ways and plant the Corn 4 feet each way and plough between it 3 or 4 times in the Summer but never hoe it at all. Wheat is generally sowed among the Corn and ploughed in sometime in August or first sept. There are no barns in this Country people stack all their Wheat and thresh it out with horses on the ground. We have not many good mills in this Country.

The price of Corn last harvest was 33⅓ cents in the spring 50 cents in the summer 75 cents Potatoes are from 50 to 100 cents a bushel oats 50 cents Wheat one dollar Beef from 3½ to 5 dollars per hundred Pork from 4 to 7 dollars a hundred. Dry goods are geting very Cheap the country is full of them we have more merchants than any thing else. Boots and Shoes sell the highest here of any place I was ever in Iron is 75 dollars a hundred salt 3 dollars a bushel Butter from 12½ to 50 cents a pound Cheese generally brings 25 cents and very little to be had at that price, for there is none made except by Eastern people. The price of improved farms here is from 5 to 12 dollars an acre.

As soon as you Receive this I wish you to write to me. As soon as I can make it any way convenient I int[end to] come and see you all for I bel[ieve] you [*MS.* torn a]nd the rest of the young men [in the] vicinity [can] not leave your mothers long [enough] to come [here].

I think I shall go by the way of New Orleans and New York or Boston It being the easiest *and cheapest route to go from here to Vermont.* Give my love to all my friends. By your letter, I learn that you are all [*MS. torn*] married I expect in about 10 or 15 years when you have about a dozen Children each you will begin to think about moving to the westward. I have seen more old, than young men moveing. If you have any Idea of ever seeing the Western Country you never will have a better time than the present

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trading post and missionary station during the French regime. It was occupied by the British in 1763 but was not turned over to the United States until 1796. At the beginning of the War of 1812 the British siezed the post but it was re-occupied by the Americans in 1815. Reuben G. Thwaites, *Story of Mackinac,* in his *How George Rogers Clark Won the Northwest.*

Prairie du Chien is supposed to have been founded by Pierre Antaya, a French trader, in 1781. It, too, was captured by a British expedition in 1814 but United States troops reoccupied the place in 1816 and constructed Fort Crawford. (*Wisconsin Historical Collections,* IX., XI., XIX., consult indexes.) Fort Edwards, also, was constructed shortly after the close of the War of 1812. Its location was near the present site of Warsaw in Hancock county, a hundred miles below the mouth of Rock River and opposite the mouth of the Des Moines. It was occupied for a few years as a government trading-post subordinate to the one at Prairie du Chien. (*Ibid.,* VI., 190, 274, XIX., 386.) Flagg is in error in speaking of Fort Clark as in commission in 1818. All the rest of these forts, however, were either constructed or reoccupied at the close of the War of 1812 to facilitate the government's plan of controlling the Indians and regulating the trade with them by a system of governmental trading factories, one of which was located at each of the posts. On the Indian trade of this period, see *ibid.,* XIX., pp. xvii-xx, 375-488.

[10] Flagg's description of the backwoodsmen is corroborated by other writers. Thus Daniel M. Parkinson who settled in Madison county in May, 1817, wrote: "The surrounding country, however, was quite sparsely settled, and destitute of any energy or enterprise among the people; their labors and attention being chiefly confined to the hunting of game, which then abounded, and tilling a small patch of corn for bread, relying on game for the remaining supplies of the table. The inhabitants were of the most generous and hospitable character, and were principally from the Southern States; harmony and the utmost good feeling prevailed throughout the country." *Wisconsin Historical Collections,* II., 327. *Cf.* Fordham, *Personal Narrative,* 125-126; Fearon, *Sketches of America,* 261; Fortesque Cuming, *Tour to the Western Country,* in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels,* IV., 281; John Bradbury, *Travels in the Interior,* in *ibid.,* V., 281; Flint, *Letters from America,* in *ibid.,* IX., 232-233.

but if you are contented there you can live as well there as here. I send you my best wishes my respects to my Parents and remain your affectionat[e] Brothe[r] for ever

GERSHOM FLAGG

A. FLAGG

[*Addressed:*] Artemas Flagg, Hinesburg, Vermont.[71]
[*Written postmark:*] Edwardsville Sept 19. Double 50

IX. To JOHN JOHNSON, February 6, 1819.

EDWARDSVILLE (ILLINOIS) 6th Feb 1819

DEAR SIR,

I with pleasure embrace this opportunity to inform you that I am well, together with some other things which from your natural sociability, may not, perhaps, be altogether uninteresting. When I left Vermont my intention was to have traveled to the Wabash & no further; but when I got near the western part of the State of Ohio the young man who was in company with me refused to go any further; and rather than proceed alone I concluded to Winter there and did not leave Cincinnati (at which place I stayed three months) until Oct. 1817. While in the State of Ohio I gained such information from Travelers as convinced me that I should be more likely to get into the employment of surveying in this Country than Indiana. I, therefore, formed a resolution to go to St Louis where the Surveyor General of both Territories keeps his Office. I took water at Cincinnati in a family Boat accompanied by a young man formerly from Vermont and floated down the River to the Mississippi, which I must here observe is the most dismal looking place that I ever saw. For several miles above the conjunction of these Rivers there are no settlements,—the land is low and covered with heavy timber & the shores are lined with Willows. The point of land between the two Rivers is covered with water fifteen feet in depth for several week in each year. Where the two Rivers meet the Ohio appears as large as the Mississippi.[72] From the Mouth of the Ohio we traveled on foot to St. Louis 170 miles up the Mississippi. I could get no employment surveying the greater part of the land to which the Indian Title was extinguished having been surveyed in the winter of 1816-17. Upwards of eighty Companies of Surveyors were employed for more than four months. Of what now remains to be surveyed there is not much chance for a stranger to get a contract; for one who has been employed is prefered to one who has not; and there are more surveyors, I believe in these two Territories, than all the rest of the United States, and to add to this the Surveyor General has three or four Brothers with 15 or 20 other connection all surveyors. I have 160 Acres of Land in this County ten miles east of the mouth of the Missouri River and have been farming almost a year. The prospect of the farmer is as good here as in any other Country. The Soil is as good as any in the United States for any kind of Grain and produces very good Cotton. 50 bushels of Wheat is said to have been taken off of one Acre of Ground in one season. The price of Wheat is one dollar per. bushel, Corn & oats 50 cents each, sweet & Irish potatoes from 50 cents to a dollar, Pork from 5 to 6 dollars, Beef from 4 to 6 dollars per hundred pounds, Butter & Cheese from 20 cents to 50 cents a pound & scarce.

The principal objection I have to this Country is its unhealthiness the months of Aug. & Sept. are generally very Sickly. I was taken sick with

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[71] The town of Hinesburg is in Chittenden county, just southeast of Richmond.

[72] The opinion was quite prevalent in the West in the early days that the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers would some day be the site of a great commercial city and several attempts were made to establish one there. By act of January 9, 1818, the territorial legislature incorporated a company as "The City and Bank of Cairo." The promoters of this organization constructed an elaborate plat of the proposed city but no settlement resulted and the land reverted to the United States. Again in 1837 an organization known as "The Cairo City and Canal Company" attempted to boom the place but without success and Cairo was not incorporated as a city until 1858. John M. Lansden, *History of the City of Cairo;* Moses, *Illinois,* I., 262.

the feever & ague the 15 Sept. which lasted me nearly two months.[73] I shall try it one season more and if I do not have my health better than I have the season past I shall sell my property and leave the Country. The summer past has been very hot and dry in the month of August the Thermometr stood at 98°. We have had but very little Rain or snow the past fall. We have not seen a single flake of snow since the 5th of January nor but very little ice. For three weeks past there has scarcely been a frost and the Bees (which are very plenty) have been daily at work. [Wild?] *Geese* have been flying to the north for ten days in la[rge number]s. Grass has grown 3 or 4 inches, the Birds are singing and in [truth?] *every thing looks like spring season.* John Messenger[74] lives in St. Clair County near Belville[75] in this state 15 miles east of St Louis. He was a member of the convention which formed the Constitution of this State. He is very much esteemed by the people. I understand he is now surveying 20 or 30 miles north of this, I have not seen him but soon shall.

I have understood that you were appointed the surveyor to run the line between Canada and the united States. My Brother wrote that you was then absent on that business which was the reason I did not write to you immediately after my arrival at St. Louis. From the length of the line to be run together with the difficulty of finding it; particularly that part which follows the high lands as described by the Treaty, I think it will require a considerable length of time. I much regret not having had an opportunity to go with you as I should have thereby gained much practical knowledge. I wish to know what progress you have made in that arduous task. I have seen an extract from a Montreal paper which says that the Fort built at Rouse's point is North of 45° N. Lat. I wish to know if you have run the line as far as that—and which side the Fort is on &c.[76] I should be very much gratified if

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[73] Illinois had the reputation at this time of being an unhealthy place, largely on account of the prevalence of the disease known as the fever and ague. This, however, seems to have been a common complaint in newly settled countries where the land was not well drained. Faux, *Memorable Days,* in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels,* XI., 246, XII., 16; Adlard Welby, *Visit to North America,* in *ibid.,* 211. Richard Flower defended the English settlement in Illinois from the charge of unhealthfulness in his *Letters from Illinois,* in *ibid.,* X., 142-143.

[74] John Messenger was prominent in Illinois from 1809 to 1833 as a politician and surveyor. He was born in 1771 in Massachusetts, removed to Vermont in 1783, to Kentucky in 1799, and to Illinois in 1802. He located in St. Clair county, where he is said to have taught the first school in 1804. In 1808 he represented St. Clair county in the legislature of Indiana Territory and the following year was commissioned county surveyor by Governor Edwards. He was clerk of the first territorial assembly of Illinois in 1812, member of the constitutional convention of 1818 and Speaker of the House in the first General Assembly of the state. In 1821 he published *A Manual or Hand-book intended for Convenience in Practical Surveying,* in 1823 he was one of the commissioners appointed by Governor Coles to select the seminary lands, and in 1833 he was one of the surveyors of the northern boundary of the state. He died on his farm near Belleville in 1846. *Illinois Historical Collections,* IV., 47-50, 227; Moses, *Illinois,* I., 291, II., 993.

[75] St. Clair was the first county laid off in the Illinois country after the Northwest Territory was established. When erected by Governor St. Clair in 1790, it embraced all the western part of Illinois, the eastern part being in Knox county with its seat at Vincennes. In 1795 the territory south of a line a little below the settlement of New Design was laid off as Randolph county but no further counties were established until 1812. (*Bluebook, Illinois,* 1905, pp. 386-397.) The old French village of Cahokia, a few miles below St. Louis, was the county seat until 1814 when a commission appointed by the legislature selected a site about fifteen miles southeast of Cahokia. The place chosen was on the farm of George Blair, who immediately laid out the town of Belleville. The town grew slowly and was incorporated in 1819. *History of St. Clair County* (Philadelphia, Brink, 1881), pp. 183-185.

[76] To one of the boundary commissions established by the treaty of Ghent of 1814 was delegated the duty of determining the boundary between the United States and Canada from the source of the St. Croix River to the point where the forty-fifth parallel intersects the St. Lawrence. The work of surveying was begun under the direction of the commission in 1817, with John Johnson of Burlington, Vermont as chief-surveyor for the United States. There were several disputed points with regard to the boundary east of the Connecticut River but it was supposed that from there to the St. Lawrence all that would be necessary would be to resurvey an old line which had been marked in 1774. This part of the survey was made in 1818 by Mr. Johnson for the United States and Mr. Odell for Great Britain and it developed that the true forty-fifth parallel is three-quarters of a mile south of the old line where it crosses the northern end of Lake Champlain. Between the two lines is Rouse's Point where fortifications regarded as of great strategic value had

you would write to me as often as your avocations will permit and in particular I wish you to write to me as soon as you receive this. If [*MS. torn*] sman Cummings is in Burlington give him my [*MS. torn*] please. The reason I have not written to him [is I have ?] seen no place where I thot he could do better [than in] Burlington.

With much respect and friendship to yourself, family, and friends and wishing you all prosperity

I remain your humble servant

GERSHOM FLAGG

J JOHNSON ESQR.

[*Addressed:*] John Johnson, Esqr, Burlington, Vermont. pr. Mail.

[*Written postmark:*] Edwardsville Ill, Feby 11. 25

[*Endorsed:*] Cershom Flagg's letter, 6 Feby, 1819.

X. To AZARIAH C. FLAGG, June 12, 1819.

EDWARDSVILLE (ILL.) June 12th 1819

DEAR BROTHER,

I Recd a letter from you by Messrs. Sweatland & Walworth last october but was then sick with the ague and did not answer it until winter. I wrote to have you send your Paper to this place instead of St. Louis. I have not heard a word from you since the letter above mentioned and have not Recd any paper of yours of later date than 28 November. I am anxious to hear from you and wish you would write more frequent. I have been very healthy the winter and spring past we have had a very warm winter without snow, late snowy spring with a great deal of Rain but it is now very dry and warm. I am at present at work on my land I have planted fifteen acres of Corn and let out ten acres more ground (so I expect to raise my own hommony).

We have a News Paper published in Edwardsville which has very lately commenced, by the title of "Edwardsville Spectator."[77] There is also a Bank[78] and Lawyers enough to sink the place.[79] The country is settling with extraordinary rapidity Thirteen months ago there was not a family north of here and there is now perhaps two hundred some a hundred and twenty miles north of this. They settle on united States land And as soon as it is offered for sale they will probably have to leave it or pay a high price for it. Land which was bought two or three years ago for two dollars an acre is now selling at 10 and 12. We have a fine country of Land and a plenty of it. The harvest is great but the laborers are few. I send My best wishes for you all, tell Mary to write to me and do not forget to write your self.

I Remain your affectionate Brother

GERSHOM FLAGG

A C FLAGG

[*Addressed:*] A. C. Flagg, Plattsburgh, New York.

[*Stamped postmark:*] Edwardsville, Illinois, June 26. 25

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just been constructed by the United States at a cost of over a million dollars. The commission failed to reach an agreement and the northeastern boundary dispute was not settled until 1842 when by the Webster-Ashburton treaty the line of the old survey was adopted instead of the true forty-fifth parallel. John B. Moore, *History and Digest of International Arbitrations*, I., chap. iii; George P. Garrison, *Westward Extension* (*American Nation*, XVII.), 74-83.

[77] The *Edwardsville Spectator* was started in 1819 under the editorship of Hooper Warren, it being the third paper established in the state. It is notable especially for the part which it played in the campaign of 1823-1824 against the proposed constitutional convention to admit slavery into Illinois. Ninian Edwards is supposed to have had a controlling influence over the paper. It changed hands in 1825 and was discontinued the following year. Franklin W. Scott, *Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois* (*Illinois Historical Collections*, VI.), pp. xlviii-l, 166.

[78] The bank of Edwardsville was incorporated by act of the legislature of January 9, 1818 and was established the following year. The act of incorporation provided that one-third of the stock of three hundred thousand dollars might be taken by the state. The bank was made a depository for the money received at the land office at Edwardsville and when it failed in September, 1821, it was owing the United States government $46,202.43. *History of Madison County* (1882), p. 339; *Annals of Congress*, 18 Congress, 1 Session, p. 2719. See also note 94 below.

[79] There is a chapter on the lawyers of Edwardsville in the *History of Madison County* (1882), pp. 181-196.

XI. To Artemas Flagg, October 6, 15, 1820.

Edwardsville, Illinois, October 6th 1820

Dear Brother,

I Recd your letter of the 20th Aug. by yesterday's Mail and embrace the earliest opportunity to inform you that I am in good hea[l]th and have been since I last wrote to you. We have had a very remarkable dry summer there are streams 40 miles in length which have entirely stopped running—two thirds of the wells and springs have dryed and the grass is not more than half its usual length. We have had good crops of Wheat and Corn is very good. Money is becoming very scarce. Wheat now sells at 50 cts pr bushel and Corn at 25 Beef and pork are also very low and the price of land has fell nearly one half within 18 months. The people are as is usual complaining of hard Times! Hard Times!!* But in reality we have no ground for saying the times are hard. We have had good crops of Cotton &c & if the people would get in the habit of Raising their own food, & clothing themselves with their own manufactures instead of sending off all the money in circulation to purchase those things money would soon grow plenty and be in circulation. The People of the United States have been for a long time blind to their own interest But begin to be awakened by the Cry of hard times.

For myself I live as I always have upon my earnings and not upon my credit or speculation and have therefore little to loose & little to fear from hard times.

If you should wish to hear some large stories about the western Country read on. I raised about 5 or 6 waggon loads of watermellons this year many of which weighed 25 pounds each and I weighed one that weighed 29 ½ pounds. We had plenty of Melons of all kinds from the middle of July to the end of September. We feed our hogs great part of the time upon Melons, Squashes, & Pumpkins & cucumbers &c &c. The hogs now live upon Acorns which here grow as large as hens eggs almost.

Oct. 15

I began this letter several days ago but not having time to finish it at the time I have delayed sending it to the post office till the present time. 38 Townships of Land have been offered for sale the two last weeks in this district and only 1200 acres were sold. Several towns in this state have been very sickly this season especially those situated contiguous to Rivers or mill-Ponds. The waters are very low and in many places covered with a green poison looking skum. The fogs arising from this stagnated waters makes the air very unwholesome.

The weather has been considerable hotter here t[his summer ?] than it was ever known to be before. The mercury in Thermometer rose to 100 degrees in the shade. Such heat as this several days in succession you will suppose made us think of the place we read of. For my part I thought it was getting to be pretty warm times. Steel or Iron lying in the sun became too hot to be handled. In Short, but in truth, it was as hot as Hell. For the want of room I must close my letter by requesting you to give my love to all those who may take the trouble to enquire about me especially my Parents, Brothers, Sisters, your Wife and two Great Boys. And do if you please write oftener and oblige your sincerely affectionate Brother

[*In margin:*] Flour sells from $3.25 to $5.00 per Barrel Whisky from 31 to 62 ½ cents pr Gallon by the Barrel.

Gershom Flagg

[*Addressed:*] Artemas Flagg, Hinesburgh, Vermont.
[*Written postmark:*] Edwardsville, Oct 18. 25

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* The crisis of 1819 was followed by several years of depression, especially in the West. See Frederick J. Turner, *Rise of the New West* (*American Nation*, XIII.), chap. ix., Ford, *History of Illinois*, 43-44.

XII. To Azariah C. Flagg, December 10, 1820.

Edwardsville, Illinois, Decemr 10th 1820

Dear Brother,

I have not for a long time received any information from you either by letters or newspapers. I think it has been two months since I recd a paper. It is a pleasure to me to hear from my friends and especially my Brothers and Sisters. I hope you will take this into consideration and write to me as often as two or three times a year at least.

I have enjoyed good health since I last wrote to you and have done considerabl[e] work. Since the first of April last I have ploughed or broke up upwards of one hundred acres of New Prairie with the help of four yoke of Oxen and a man to drive them and have fenced in or enclosed 40 acres and built a log house &c. We have had scarcely any rain since last April the Streams, Springs & Wells two third of them became dry the weather was extreemely hot the Thermometer rose to 100 degrees in the shade. This fall we have had two snow storms the snow fell in Nov. 8 inches deep and lay on several days the snow is now gone but the weather has become cold and the ground is hard frozen and the Mississippi is full of floating ice. For this country this is called *Hard Times.* You may gather some Ideas of the circulation of cash here and of the great chang[e] of times from the annexed prices:

Prices curent in the vicinities of St. Louis & Edwardsville:

	1819	1820
Beef pr. lb	from 4 to 6 cents	from 2½ to 3½ cents
Pork "	" 5 " 6 "	" 2 " 3
Flour pr. Barrel	" $8. $12.	" $3.25 to $5.
Corn pr bushel	from 33 to 50 cents	12½ to 20 cents
Wheat do	" $100 [*i. e. $1.00*]	37½ to 50 cent[s]

Cows which sold last year for 25 dollars will not fetch more than $15 and oxen which Sold one year ago for 120 d[ollars] now sell for eighty only.[80]

The price of land has fallen more than one half—A bad time for Speculators—there are many here who paid out all the money they had in first instalments on land and depended on selling it before the other payments become due And as the price of land is now reduced no body will buy it at the former price. It will of course revert to the United States unless Congress does something for their relief.[81]

[*In margin:*] You will please to give my love to Mary and your Wife &c &c &c

Gershom Flagg

[*Addressed:*] A. C. Flagg, Plattsburgh, New York.
[*Written postmark:*] Edwardsville, Decr 13. 25

XIII. To Artemas Flagg, March 31, 1821.

Edwardsville Madison, Co. (Il's.) March 31st 1821

Dear Brother,

Your letter of the 3d December was Recd in January but the waters have been so high since that time that the Mail does not arive oftener than once in 3 or four weeks which is the reason I have defered writing until the present time and now have an opportunity to send you this by Pascal P. Enos Esqr

[80] Many of the travelers give information about prices current in the West. Consult the index to Thwaites' *Early Western Travels.* Tables of prices convenient for comparison with the above can be found: for Illinois in November, 1817, in Fordham, *Personal Narrative,* 118-119; for Ohio in July, 1818, in Thomas Hulme, *Journal of a Tour in the West,* in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels,* X., 74-75; for Kentucky in December, 1818, in Flint, *Letters from America,* in *ibid.,* IX., 139-140.

[81] The price of public land was reduced and the credit system abolished in 1820 (see note 26) but by that time purchasers were over twenty-two million dollars in arrears and it was evident that something ought to be done for their relief. Several measures extending the period of payment had already been enacted and finally on March 2, 1821, Congress passed a relief act which remitted the accrued interest on land debts and allowed former purchasers to relinquish part of their claims and apply the payments made to the purchase of the remainder. Turner, *Rise of the New West* (*American Nation,* XIV.), 141-143; Treat, *The National Land System,* chaps. v., vi.

formerly of Vermont and Brother to Roger Enos. I have been particularly acquainted with him ever since I arrived at St. Louis and should you be so fortunate as to see him he can furnish all the information you wish of this Country. I have lived in the same house with him and wish you to treat him as my friend and write to me when he returns if not before. We have had a very severe winter and considerable snow and this spring we have had several severe storms. Two men have been found dead in the Prairie supposed to have chilled to death by the cold weather and snow. I was one of the Jurors who examined the body of one of the men who was found dead and it appeared that after being out in the open Prairie for about 24 hours great part of which time it either Rained or snowed accompanied with a very Cold Wind he fell from his horse so benum[b]ed with cold that he never strugled but went to sleep for the last time. I began to plough the first day of March but have only ploughed 16 acres the ground having been frozen for several days past until yesterday.

We have pretty tight times here. Most of the People are in debt for Land and many otherwise more than they can posably [*sic*] pay. Our *wise Legislator* [*sic*] have taken the matter into serious consideration and *made a Bank without any Specie* to Redeem their notes and have stopt all Executions until the first of November next and after that time if the creditor will not endorse on the back of the Execution that he will receive the amount in State Paper The Execution is stopped for three years longer. This money is to be loaned out (The capital Stock of which is three hundred thousand dollars) to individuals by their giving real estate in security. The notes are to be given for one year but to be renewed every year on paying ten per cent so that it will be ten years before the borrower finishes paying.[82]

Corn now sells at 12½ cents per Bushel Pork at 2½ and 3 dollars Wheat 50 cents Whiskey at 25 cents per gallon by the Barrel flour is 3 and 3½ dollars per Barrel.

Lewis Curtis of Burlington has set up his business in St. Charles on the Missouri River 20 miles from St Louis and 30 from here. Although Money is very scarce in this country there was 26 thousand dollars taken in the Land office at this place during the sale in Jan. Last and that mostly Specie. I have Recd a letter from Eliza[83] a few days ago dated June 8th You will please to give my respects to all my friends and acquaintance. I have enjoyed [good ?] health since I wrote you last and re[main] your most affectionate Brothe[r]

GERSHOM FLAGG

MR ARTEMAS FLAGG, RICHMOND VERMONT

[*Addressed:*] Mr Artemas Flagg, Richmond, Vermont. pr. P. P. Enos, Esq.

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[82] Both the state law and the state bank law were enacted over the objections of the council of revision by the second general assembly, in session during the winter of 1820-1821. The bank was established at Vandalia, the new capital, with branches at Edwardsville, Brownsville, Shawneetown, and Palmyra. It was based solely upon the credit of the state and was allowed to issue notes and loan them to the people upon personal security up to one hundred dollars for each individual and upon security of mortgages in larger sums. These notes were made receivable for all taxes, costs, and fees and for the salaries of all public officers. The bank was very popular at first and the total capital of three hundred thousand dollars was quickly put into circulation. Soon, however, the notes began to depreciate and it was not long before they were worth only thirty cents on a dollar. In addition some of the branches were mismanaged and all in all it was a costly experiment for the state. The affairs of the institution were finally wound up by an act of 1831. *Illinois Historical Collections*, IV., pp. xxvii.-xxviii. and *passim;* C. H. Garnett, *State Banks of Issue*, (University of Illinois, 1898); Ford, *History of Illinois*, 45-48; Moses, *Illinois*, 301-303; Elihu B. Washburne, ed., *The Edwards Papers*, 270-271, 420.

[83] Eliza Wait Flagg, eighth child of Ebenezer and Elizabeth Flagg, was born in Richmond, Vermont, in 1802. In 1825 she was married to Oramel Bliss of Essex, Vermont, who died in 1833. In 1836 the widow with three children moved to Illinois and occupied a log cabin on the farm of her brother in Madison county. She taught a district school for a while, was married in 1838 to Heman Liscum of Vermont, and died in 1841. After her death the three children were taken into the household of her brother Gershom Flagg. *Flagg Family Records*, 73.

XIV. To Doctor Ebenezer Flagg, August 7, 1821.[84]

Edwardsville (Illinois) August 7th 1821

Honored Father

Last fall a man by the name of Browning informed me that there was a person by the name of Flagg, living near Marietta (Ohio) with whom he was acquainted. I immediately addressed him by letter, and yesterday received the following answer...

Not doubting that you will be very glad to hear the intelligence contained in the above Letter I have taken the first opportunity of communicating it to you and have sent you a true copy of the Letter so that you might have all the information which I possess on the subject. I shall write to him in a few days.

I enjoy my usual good health: it is some sickly in this country as is usual at this season of the year. We have had a very wet spring & summer so far which has been very detrimental to crops, a great deal of Wheat was not worth reaping this year and Corn does not look very well. At present the weather is very hot. Times here are much as they are in other parts of the United States I suppose. Money is scarce and provisions plenty. I rent out my Land and live with the people who Rent it. I have bought corn this year about a hundred bushels at 12½ cent per bushel. Wheat sells at 37½ cents per bushel. Salt at $1.00 per bushel. I wish you or Artemas would write to me as soon as you receive this, it has been some time since I have heard from you.

Lewis Curtis of Burlington is at St. Charles near the mouth of the Missouri. I have not seen him.

You will please to give my love to my Mother, Brothers, & Sisters and my fellow traveller Selah Coleman, I wish he would write to me. I wish to know how he likes that country after seeing Ohio.

That this may find you in good health & spirit and that the remainder of your days may be blest with peace and content is the anxious wish of your affectionate Son

Gershom Flagg

Doctor Ebenezer Flagg, Burlington, Vermont.

XV. To Mrs. Elizabeth Flagg, October 4, 1821.

Edwardsville, Illinois October 4th 1821

Dear Mother,

Yours of the 9th August I received the 25 of September by Mail—on the 14 of sept. I received by Mr. Enos a letter from Azariah dated July 28—one from Artemas dated July 29 and one from John Johnson Esqr of Burlington dated Aug. 3d none of which I have been able to answer having been taken sick the day before I received the first letters and although I was only sick for 4 or 5 days I have felt too weak until the present time to write a letter; and although I received yours the last I feel in duty bound to answer it first. We have had a very sickly season here but in proportion to the sickness there has been but very few deaths. The weather has now become cool and people are getting well very fast. You seem to be very anxious to have me return to Vermont and it is very natural for a Mother to feel great anxiety about her children but I presume you are willing to have me stay in this country could you be pursuaded that I can do better here than with

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[84] The original of this letter was formerly in the collection but is now in the posession of Mr. Lucius C. S. Flagg of Omaha, Nebraska, who has kindly furnished a copy of it for use here. The part omitted is a copy of a letter written by Catain James Flagg (grandfather of Lucius C. S. Flagg), in which he tells about the family of his father Gershom Flagg. (See note 31.) Captain James Flag was born in Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1779 and ten years later was taken by his parents to Marietta, the newly-formed settlement of the Ohio Company at the mouth of the Muskingum River. He made his home at Cornersville, a settlement four miles from Marietta, and died there in 1854. He was a farmer and blacksmith but he also had business interests in Marietta. In the War of 1812 he served as the captain of a company of Ohio militia. *Flagg Family Records*, 98-107.

you and I think this is much the best country for me but I intend to return and see you as soon as I possibly can but cannot, as you request, tell you at what time it will be. The length of the Journey I do not dread neither do I begrudge the money which I shall have to spend If I could get enough in "*These hard times*" but you very well know it is a great deal of trouble to get started on such a Journey but I am determened to make you a visit as soon as I can and until I do I will write to you or some of my brothers and sisters often, so that you can hear from me. I have a little news to write of things that have taken place here. There has been one Indian and one White man hung in this state the summer past both for Murder.[85] Some time in July a Robbery was committed in an adjoining county. The house of a Mr. Dickson was broken open in the dead of a dark rainy night and his chests and trunks broken open and twelve hundred dollars being all the money he had taken from him. The next morning the neighbors being alarmed took the track of the robbers (which on account of the great rain appeared fresh in the road and high grass and weeds) and followed on for several miles until the[y] found the horses of Major S. B Whiteside Sheriff of this County and Major Robert Sinclair Both of whom have heretofore been considered citizen of the highest respectability. They were immediately apprehended and after tedious examination of 3 days there appearing from the positive testimony of the persons Robbed, and the testimony of the pursuers and others and very strong circumstantial evidence that they were two of the persons engaged in the Robbery they were bound to appear before the Circuit Court or forfeit the sum of four thousand dollars each &c &c.[86]

A young man has also lately been prosecuted for attempting to injure a Ladys character in this County and a verdict of 3000 dollars damages awarded by the Jury. Two of the friends of the Lady after having heard what had been done and said by this young man respecting the Lady (her husband be-

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[85] The white man referred to was Timothy Bennett, who killed Alphonso C. Stuart in a duel in Belleville in 1819. The duel is said to have been intended as a sham to make sport of Bennett but he secretly slipped a ball in his gun. He broke jail and escaped at the time but was taken in Missouri in 1821 and brought back to Belleville. He was tried before Judge Reynolds at a special term of the circuit court and was convicted and executed. Daniel P. Cook was the prosecuting attorney in the trial and Thomas H. Benton, the attorney for the defense. James Affleck, *The Stuart-Bennett Duel*, in Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1901, pp. 96-100; *History of St. Clair County* (1881), pp. 84-85, 98, 186-187. There is an account of this case in John Reynolds, *My Own Times* (chap. xlvii.) in which the names are given incorrectly.

[86] The Whiteside family was prominent in early Illinois history and especially in the Indian campaigns during the War of 1812 and in the Black Hawk War. Originally from the frontiers of North Carolina, they came to Illinois from Kentucky in 1783. William Whiteside, the leader of the family, established himself at Whiteside's Station in what is now Monroe county. (John Reynolds, *Pioneer History of Illinois*, 2d edition, 185-190.) The Whiteside who was involved in this robbery was William B. or Bolin, as he was called, a son of the founder of Whiteside's Station. He was sheriff of Madison county from 1818 to 1822. (*History of Madison County*, 1882, pp. 132-140.) The *History of Greene County* (Chicago, Donnelley, 1879, pp. 266-267) gives the following account of this affair. An elderly Englishman named Dixon, who lived in the southern part of Greene county, was believed to have a considerable sum of money in his house. One night he was visited by a number of armed men who secured twelve hundred dollars from him by threat of violence and then fled. Two of them he recognized as Robert Sinclair and William B. Whiteside. The alarm was raised and some of the robbers were overtaken near Alton. Whiteside and Sinclair were taken to Carrolton for trial and Sinclair was convicted but escaped to Arkansas. Whiteside is said to have been saved by a friend on the jury who stood out for acquittal. At any rate, the jury failed to reach a verdict and the trial was delayed until the death of Dixon and the removal of some of the other witnesses left the prosecution without sufficient evidence and the case was dropped. A similar account of the affair is in the *History of Greene and Jersey Counties* (Springfield, Continental Publishing Company, 1885), pp. 599-600. The account in Ed. Miner, *Past and Present of Greene County* (Chicago, S. J. Clarke, 1905, pp. 47-48) is an almost literal copy from the 1879 work, without credit being given.

Reynolds did not mention this affair in his books. Of William B. Whiteside, he wrote in 1852: "He was raised on the frontiers and without much education, but possessed a strong and sprightly intellect and a benevolence of heart that was rarely equaled. All his talents and energies were exerted in the defence of his country. He was sheriff of Madison County for many years. At his residence in Madison County, he died some years since." (*Pioneer History of Illinois*, 2d. edition. 416-417.) Governor Reynold's brother Robert married a daughter of William B. Whiteside. Joseph Gillespie in *ibid.*, 189, note.

ing absent on a Journey) took it upon themselves to avenge her wrongs and took the young man into the woods and tied him up and gave him a severe whipping. They were prossecuted [*sic*] by him before the same court and Jury and he recovered 3000 dollars damages.

We have had a very wet season and our crops are not as good as usual. Corn however will not be more than a shilling a bushel I think this winter. Tell Artemas that I shall write to him ere long. Give my love to all my friends. Write to me oftener, if convenient. My health is now very good and that you may enjoy health and peace of mind is the anxious wish of your affectionate son

GERSHOM FLAGG

MRS. ELIZABETH FLAGG

[*Addressed:*] Doctor Ebenezer Flagg, Burlington, Vermont.

[*Written postmark:*] Edwardsville Ill, Oct. 9. Paid 25

XVI. To AZARIAH C. FLAGG, December 21, 1821.[87]

EDWARDSVILLE ILLINOIS Dec 21 1821

DEAR BROTHER

Your letter per Mr Enos of 28th July I received the 14th September. I was taken sick with the bilious fever about the same time and although the fever only lasted a few days my health has been such that I have not been able to do any work since but my health is growing better very fast since the cold weather commenced. Our winter is very cold thus far. . .

I now own 270 acres of land which I have paid for. On one quarter section I have two log houses near each other and 65 acres well fenced in three fields 26 acres of which is under good cultivation as a plough field and the remainder occupied as a pasture it being in the Prairie. I have three yoke of good oxen and a good plough. I have ploughed considerable for people lately and have now contracted to brake up 90 acres more of New Prairie next spring. I get about $4 an acre for ploughing.

I have rented my place this year for my board and live with the family who rented it. . .

[GERSHOM FLAGG]

A LETTER TO A C FLAGG PLATTSBURGH

XVII. To ARTEMAS FLAGG, June 9, 1822.

EDWARDSVILLE June 9th 1822

DEAR BROTHER,

Your letter of the 13th of April I recd a few days since but have been so much engaged that I have not had time to answer it until now. My health is very good which is the most that I have to communicate at present but as you will expect somthing more I will write a few lines respecting things which have come within my observation. We have had a very rainy spring which has caused the streames to overflow their banks and in some instances Bridges have been carried away. The weather for a week past has been very hot yesterday the Thermometer rose to 98°. The wet and heat has caused the grass to grow very fast and in great aboundance. Our natural pastures are now covered as it were with droves of Cattle and horses which have already fattened on the spontaneous productions of the earth. I have seen Corn in silk this day but not our common sort the seed was brot from the Mandan Nation of Indians who reside 12 hundred miles up the Missouri.[88]

[87] From a copy in the hand-writing of Willard C. Flagg, Gershom's son who gathered the letters together. The original has probably been lost or destroyed.

[88] The Mandan Indians were first visited by the Sieur de Verendrye in 1738. When Lewis and Clark wintered among them in 1804-1805, they numbered about two thousand and were located on the most northern bend of the Missouri River. They were in the agricultural rather than the nomadic stage, lived in fortified villages, and were always friendly to the whites. In 1837 the tribe was almost wiped out by a visitation of small-pox. Frederick W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians, (Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 30) I., pp. 796-799.

The corn of the Mandans was noted by Bradbury as grown to its full height—about three feet—on June 24, 1810. He described it in his *Travels,* in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels,* V., 158. Maximilian, who visited the Mandans in 1833, also wrote of their "very fine maize" and of his attempts to domesticate some of it in Europe after his return. *Travels,* in *ibid.,* XXIII., 241, 275.

We have our share of hard times here and have worse times coming. I s[illegible]y worse because our Legislature have introduced a sort of paper currency which, tho' it may yield a temporary relief will, eventually, prove a great disadvantage to this State that is in my humble opinion and als[o] in the opinion of many others. Brother I am full in the belief that we are carelessly suffering our government to waste the public Monies in giving high salaries, creating new offices for the sake of providing for their friends, &c. The people of the United States ought not to sleep while their Representatives are voting to themselves 8. dollars pr. day and giving such salaries to their officers as cause hundreds of applicants for one office. As times grow hard and money scarce and our revenue is declining why should not our representatives in congress reduce their pay to 6 dollars pr day Reduce the salaries of the different officers of Government and make such other retrenchments as will cause our revenue to equal the expenses of Government. Most surely we ought not to run into debt in times of peace for if we do what shall we do in case of war. I am afraid our Governmental officers are growing corrupt and we the *sovreign People* ought to look to it or we shall go down the broad road where all other Nations have gone who possessed a happy government like ours.

I should be very glad if you would write something respecting the opinion of the people in your state as respects our goverment.

With sincerety I remain your most affectionate Brother

GERSHOM FLAGG

MR ARTEMAS FLAGG

XVIII. To ARTEMAS FLAGG, July 20, 1823.

EDWARDSVILLE (ILLINOIS) July 20th 1823

DEAR BROTHER,

I have delayed writing to you for a much longer time than usual for which I hope you will not retaliate as long as I am willing to confess my fault. I have been very busily employed for several months but not so much so as to forget the ties which bind the whole family of Mankind. I have enjoyed uninterrupted health for more than a year. It is a general time of hea[l]th in this vicinity at present although a sickly season has been expected owing to the great rains in the spring and fore part of summer. The Rivers have been very high much damage done to Bridges Mills &c &c.

Our wheat harvest has been very good and corn looks very well and our prospects as to health are better this season than I have known since I have lived in the State.

A Duel was fought on the Island, in the Mississippi, oppocite [*sic*] to St. Louis on the 30th June, between Thomas C. Rector and Joshua Barton Esq. District Atorney for the state of Missouri. The latter fell & expired immediately the other was untouched both belonged to St Louis.[89] On the 10th of the present month an affray happened between Russel Botsford and Col. James Kelly, Cashier of the State Bank of Illinois both citizens of Vandalia[90] in which place the scene was acted. I will relate the circumstances

[89] For an account of this duel and of the Rector family, see note 66. Joshua Barton was a brother of David Barton, one of the first United States Senators from Missouri. He was born in Tennessee about 1788 and located in St. Louis in 1812, where he studied law in the office of Rufus Easton. In 1817 he served as a second to Charles Lucas in his duel with Thomas H. Benton. He was appointed secretary of state in 1821 but resigned to become United States district attorney for Missouri, which position he held until his death. Scharf, *History of Saint Louis*, II., 1461; Houck, *History of Missouri*, III., 17, 77, 256.

The island where the Rector-Barton duel was fought was known as "Bloody Island" on account of the many duels which took place there. It was formed about 1800 by the current of the river cutting through a neck of land on the Illinois side and there appears to have been some doubt as to whether it was in the jurisdiction of Illinois or of Missouri. It is now the third ward of the city of East St. Louis. Scharf, *History of Saint Louis*, II., 1849-1856; Houck, *History of Missouri*, III., 75-79; Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, XXVI., 115, note.

[90] By act of March 3, 1819, Congress granted four sections of land, to be selected by the state of Illinois as a site for a capital city. The legislature passed an act, March 30, 1819, establishing a commission of five members which was instructed to select a site on the Kaskaskia River near the third principal meridian, to have the town surveyed, to choose a name for it, to sell part of the lots at auction, and

as I have heard them and the causes which led to it. About three months since the State Bank of (Illis) at Vandalia was broken open and 6 or 7 thousand dollars in Spiece [*sic*] taken out by some unknown person. The Cashier Mr. Kelly with others mistrusted that Mr. Moss Botsford had some knowledge of the affair and took him into the woods tied him & Col. Kelly whipped him severely to make him confess his sins, and tell where the money was &[c] &[c] which, by the bye, is a court of inquiry very often instituted in this state—But no discovery was made. Russel Botsford was the Brother of the one that was whipped and as a Brother perhaps had expressed his disaprobation of the conduct of Kelly but this is only supposition with me but at any rate on the 10th inst. while Russel Botsford was sitting in a Store reading Col. Kelly came to the gable end of the Store with a Pistol in one hand and horse whip in the other and there walked back & forth for half an hour. When mr. Botsford came out and met him at the corner of the store when kelly commenced whipping him holding the Pistol in one hand & whip in the other. Botsford drawed out his Spanish knife knocked the Pistol out of his hand & gave him a mortal stab near the heart. After a little scuffle in which Botsford gave him a couppl [*sic*] nore [*sic*] Wounds and disabled his arm which held the Pistol both fell over a stump—Botsford sprang up and run & Kelly after him a few rods when kelly fell dead on the ground.[91]

On the 18 inst Col Parkison of this county was shot through the arm by one of his neighbors & the same day Messrs. Mitchel and Waddle citizens of St. Louis met on the Island before mentioned and after exchanging two or three shots the latter was shot through the boddy and his death is expected. Their quarrel was co[mmenc]ed at a gambling table by one's gi[ving the] other the lie or something to that effect.

Some other little skirmishes have taken place in consequence of the extraordinary and unparaleled procedings of our Legislature of which no doubt you have heard before now. A great party (but not a majority I think) are making use of every means to introduce slavery into this State.[92] I have not time or paper to write more enough has been written to convince you that we are a great and magnanimous people.

Yours in haste forever

GERSHOM FLAGG

P. S. Waddle is dead.

A FLAGG

[*Addressed:*] Mr. Artemas Flagg, Richmond, Vermont.

[*Stamped postmark:*] Edwardsville, Illinois, July 26. 25

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to contract for the erection of a state-house. The selection was made and the town laid out in June, 1819, and the legislature began holding its sessions there in December, 1820. Vandalia, as the town was named, grew slowly until 1837 when it had a population of about twenty-five hundred. Beginning in 1833, a strong agitation developed for the removal of the capital and finally, after much controversy between rival claimants, a law was passed in 1837 providing for its removal to Springfield. The last session in Vandalia was that of 1838-1839 and after that the town declined almost to extinction but was resuscitated by the construction of the Illinois Central railroad through it in 1852. Robert W. Ross, *Historical Souvenir of Vandalia*, 9-19.

[91] A somewhat different account of this affair is given in Ross, *Historical Souvenir of Vandalia*, 21. Bottsford was tried before Judge Reynolds in 1824 and was acquitted. Sidney Breese was the prosecuting attorney and Edward Bates of St. Louis the lawyer for the defense. About twelve years later a negro discovered some boxes containing three thousand dollars in silver in an old stable in Vandalia. This was part of the stolen money and was restored to the bank. *Ibid.* and Reynolds, *My Own Times*, 222.

[92] When the constitution of 1818 was framed, there was a considerable party in favor of making Illinois a slave state but it was evident that any attempt in that direction would be likely to interfere with the speedy admission of the state into the Union and so the constitution contained a clause prohibiting the future introduction of slaves. It was not long, however, before a movement was on foot to change the constitution so as to admit slaves and this was the principal issue in the state election of 1822. Edward Coles, the free-state candidate, was elected by a small plurality but the party in favor of the change secured a majority of both houses of the general assembly. The only way to bring about the desired change was by calling a convention to revise the constitution and in order to do that it was necessary for a resolution to be adopted by two-thirds of each house for

XIX. To Artemas Flagg, January 25, 1824.

Edwardsville (Illinois) 25th Jan. 1824

Dear Brother,

I have not heard from you for several months and while reflecting upon your negligence in writing, I happened to think of my own remissness in writing also—and instead of unbraiding you I will begin with excusing my self for not writing oftener. If I have any excuse for my negligence it will be found in my being very much engaged in my own business together with the singular situation of affairs in this state which occupies much of the attention of every man who has the future prosperity of the state in view. I have ordered Mr Warren to send the Edwardsville Spectator to John Johnson Esq. of Burlington Vermont. This paper will give you a very good idea of what is going on here if you can get a peep at it, which you can, I make no doubt, if mr. Johnson receives it. We have had a very extraordinary wet summer—dry pleasant fall—& so far warm pleasant winter we have had no snow of consequence and very few days but what we could have ploughed if occasion required. The bees have been flying nearly every day this month and the grass has began to grow in the low lands. Pork & Beef are selling from $1.50 to $2.00 pr. hundred, Wheat from 50 to 75 cents and Corn from 20 to 25 cents pr. bushel.

For news—there is a man to be hung on the 12 day of next month at Edwardsville for murder.[93] There was about 8 thousand quarter sections of non resident lands sold at Vandalia in Dec. last, for taxex [*sic*] which if not redeemed within one year will belong to the purchasers. The sums they were sold for would not exceed 5 dollars upon an average and this sum was received in illinois State Bank paper which is worth only 30 cents to the dollar which will bring the price of the land if not redeemed at less than one cent pr. acre. We have had an uncommonly healthy fall in this state more so than since I have lived *in* the State. I see by the papers that our Brother Azariah is elected a member of the N. Y. Legislature again. I hope if he has any thing to do with the election of the next President of the U. States that John Q. Adams may be the first man and William H Crawford the last man of all the Candidates which will be supported by him. We have seen and felt too much of the bad management of the Secretary of the Treasury in this western country not to wish any other candidate elected before *him* who has suffered immense sums of money to be deposited in banks whose credit was so poor that Individuals dare not and would not trust their money in those banks.[94] I think that a majority of the people of Illinois are in

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submitting the question to the people. The slavery party was able to muster exactly enough votes in the Senate but the two-thirds was secured in the House only by reopening a contested election case, unseating the man who had previously been declared elected, and seating his opponent. The resolution was thus carried in February, 1823, and then the question of a convention was before the people. It was understood that the real issue was as to whether Illinois should or should not become a slave-state and after an exciting campaign, which lasted a year and a half, the people decided against a convention by vote of 6,640 to 4,972. N. Dwight Harris, *Negro Servitude in Illinois;* William H. Brown, *Early Movement in Illinois for the Legalization of Slavery* (*Fergus Historical Series,* No. 4.)

[93] This was Eliphalet Green who shot and killed a fellow-laborer, William Wright, at Abel Moore's distillery on Wood River in Madison county. The shooting took place on Christmas Eve, 1823; Green was indicted January 13, 1824; tried the next day; sentenced on the fifteenth, and hanged February 12. John Reynolds presided at the trial and is said to have pronounced sentence in a very informal manner. While awaiting execution Green was converted by Rev. J. M. Peck and was baptised in a creek through a hole cut in the ice. *History of Madison County* (1882), pp. 159-160; Reynolds, *My Own Times,* chap. xlvii; Ford, *History of Illinois,* 83-84; Babcock, *Memoir of John Mason Peck,* 189-191.

[94] Among the western banks, the failure of which during or shortly after the crisis of 1819 involved a loss of public funds, was the bank of Edwardsville, Illinois. (See note 78.) Ninian Edwards, United States Senator from Illinois had been a director of this bank and had been instrumental in having it chosen as the depository for the money taken in at the Edwardsville land office. In the fall of 1819, however, he announced his intention of severing all connection with the bank and later he claimed that Secretary Crawford had been notified of this fact but had ordered the continuance of the deposits in the bank. Crawford denied the implication and then Edwards, who had just been appointed minister to Mexico, sent a long address to the House of Representatives in which he charged Crawford

favor of Mr. Adams for our next President. Mr. Clay I think would be the next man on the list & the next Mr. Calhoun but Mr. Crawford has but few friends here.[95] I am anxious to hear from you all & hope you will not fail writing as soon as you receive this. I wish you to give my most friendly respects to John Johnson Esqr. of Burlington and enquire of him whether he received a letter which I wrote to him in August last and also if he receives the *Spectator*, which I send him weekly.

My respects to all those who may take the trouble to enquire after me and especially to my friends and let me know how you are all doing as soon as possible and tell your wife if she does not write to me I'll punish her for her neglect as soon as I see her. Eliza & Rowana[96] have written very frequently as well as yourself for which I give you all many thanks. I am much pleased with Eliza's letters and hope she will continue to write to me often and wish you would all do the same. I wish to know what Mary is doing; I think she must have bec[ome]· a Nunn, for I have not heard a word from her this two years.

Receive with this my most sincere wishes and anxious desire for the happiness of all my friends, from your

Friend & Affectionate Brother

GERSHOM FLAGG

ARTEMAS FLAGG RICHMOND VERMONT

[*Addressed:*] Mr. Artemas Flagg, Richmond, Vermont.

[*Stamped postmark:*] Edwardsville, Illinois, Jan. 28. 25

XX. To ARTEMAS FLAGG, July 20, 1825.

EDWARDSVILLE (ILL.) July 20th 1825

DEAR BROTHER,

I have not written to you for a long time because I intended before this time to have seen you at your own house but my circumstances are such that I have not been able to accomplish my intentions as yet. I shall not set any time again to see you but as soon as I can shall come and make you a visit. I have been looking every mail to hear from you but not receiving any letter I suppose you expected me there and have therefore neglected writing on that account. Being very anxious to hear from you I hope you will write as soon as you receive this. We have had a very remarkable year so far; the month of Jan. was entirely dry warm weather the ground was hardly frozen at all and we had neither snow or rain during the month. Crops are now 3 or four weeks earlier than usual Cherries were ripe by the middle of May and people commenced harvesting wheat before the 20 June.

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with mismanagement of the public funds, especially in connection with the banks. The House appointed a committee to investigate the matter and Edwards resigned his mission and returned to Washington to substantiate the charges but the committee reported that "nothing has been proved to impeach the integrity of the Secretary, or to bring into doubt the general correctness and ability of his administration of the public finances." *Annals of Congress*, 18 Congress, 1 Session, pp. 2431-2455; *American State Papers, Finance*, V., 1-145; John Quincy Adams, *Memoirs*, VI., 296 *et seq.;* Thomas H. Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, I., chap. xiv.; Edwards, *History of Illinois*, chap. viii.

[95] At the time when this was written the candidacy of General Jackson had not attracted much attention. Calhoun dropped out of the race and contented himself with the vice-presidency. In the election, which took place in November, 1824, the total vote in Illinois was but 4707 as compared with 11,834 votes for Congressmen and 11,612 votes on the convention question at the election the preceding August. The presidential electors were chosen by districts in Illinois and two of them voted for Jackson and one for Adams. The determination of the popular vote is complicated by the fact that one candidate who received 629 votes in the first district did not announce his preference until after the election when he declared that, had he been elected, he should have voted for Jackson. It was understood, however, that he was opposed to Adams. Of the remainder of the votes cast, 1541 were for Adams, 1273 for Jackson, 1046 for Clay, and 218 for Crawfqrd. When the election came before the House of Representatives, Daniel P. Cook cast the vote of Illinois for Adams. Edwards, *History of Illinois*, 261-265.

[96] Roana Flagg, ninth child and youngest daughter of Ebenezer and Elizabeth Flagg, was born in Richmond, Vermont, in 1804. She was married in Vermont in 1826 to Harley H. Pierce and in 1838 they moved to Edwardsville, Illinois, with their family of five daughters. Pierce died in 1843 and the widow afterwards married Calvin Hodgman of Omphghent township, Madison county, Illinois. She died in 1863. *Flagg Family Records*, 78.

I saw ripe blackberries the 19 day of June and Corn now is generally ten feet high. For a few days past it has been very hot and the ground is now very dry indeed. Our political squables and quarrels have subsided very much and I am in hopes we shall have better times in this State hereafter. It appears that a majority of the people are opposed to the introduction of Slavery and I think the question is now at rest forever. I[n] my last letter to Eliza I enclosed a three dollar bill for many [*sic*]. I believe it was on a vermont bank. I have not recd any answer to the letter which makes me suspicious that she did not receive the letter.

Property is now very low here. Corn is worth only about 72½ cents pr. bushel Beef about $1.50 pr Cwt Wheat 50 cents cows are worth from 5 to 7 dollars Oxen from 20 to 40 dollars a yoke horses all prices from 10 to 80 dollars. Goods have risen some since the speculations in Cotton. Steam Boats are very plenty now on the Mississippi the first Steam Boat came to St Louis the year I came there but now sometimes they have 3 or 4 there at a time. They travel up the current of the Mississippi at the rate of about 100 miles per day and some times more.

I wish to know "*how wags the world wi' ye.*"

Lafayette came up the mississippi as far as St. Louis got his dinner and the next day dined at Kaskaskia[97] in this state almost a hundred miles from the former place. From thence he went up the Ohio and Cumberland rivers as far as Nashvill[e] in Tennessee[98] thenc[e] back to Shawneetown[99] and so up the Ohio like a whirligig and like to have given his last whirl when the steam boat sunk but fortunately at that time two steam boats on the way to Orleans saw the situation of the Nations guest and volunteered their service to help him out of the scrape.[100] You will learn by this circumstance that

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[97] Kaskaskia, for over half a century the metropolis of the upper Mississippi Valley, was founded in 1700 by Jesuit missionaries who followed the Kaskaskia Indians from their former habitat on the Illinois River. At that time the site was on the right bank of the Kaskaskia River and about ten miles from its mouth. In 1765 the village was transferred to the British and in 1778 it was taken possession of by George Rogers Clark in the service of Virginia. A considerable number of the French inhabitants deserted the place for the new settlements across the river but American settlers soon began to come in and take their places. When Randolph county was established in 1795 Kaskaskia became its seat and from 1809 to 1821 it was the capital of the territory and state. During this period the town flourished moderately but with the removal of the capital to Vandalia it began to decline again. Following the flood of 1844, the county-seat was removed to Chester and during a subsequent inundation the Mississippi jumped across to the Kaskaskia just above the town, so that all there is left of old Kaskaskia today is a number of houses on an island in the Mississippi River. Clarence W. Alvord, *The Old Kaskaskia Records*, 35-38; *History of Randolph, Monroe, and Perry Counties*, (Philadelphia, 1883); Moses, *Illinois*, I., 268-270.

[98] Nashborough station was founded by James Robertson in 1779 and the town of Nashville was laid out in 1784. The town grew rapidly and was incorporated in 1806. The Tennessee legislature met there from 1812 to 1816 and from 1826 on but it was not made the permanent capital until 1843. James Phelan, *History of Tennessee*, 118-120, 134, 179, 200.

[99] Shawneetown, located on the Ohio about ten miles below the mouth of the Wabash, was at this time the principal town of southeastern Illinois. The town was laid out in 1808 on the site of an old Shawnee Indian village and the land office for eastern Illinois was located there in 1812. The salt works on Saline creek nearby contributed to its prosperity as did also the stream of emigrants from the South to Illinois and Missouri which crossed the Ohio at this point. Moses, *Illinois*, I., 271-272; Boggess, *Settlement of Illinois*, 125. Judge James Hall, who was a resident of Shawneetown for a number of years, gives an interesting sketch of the place about the time of Lafayette's visit in his *Letters from the West*, 215-233.

[100] When Lafayette arrived in America in 1824 the legislature of Illinois appointed a committee to invite him to visit the state. To the address drawn up by this committee Governor Coles added a personal invitation, for he had made the acquaintance of the general in France in 1817. (*Illinois Historical Collections*, IV., 70-71.) In the spring of 1825 Lafayette came up the Mississippi River on a steamboat to St. Louis where he was met by Governor Coles and escorted to Kaskaskia. There the governor delivered an address of welcome which was responded to by the general. Then followed a reception at the residence of John Edgar, a dinner at Sweet's tavern, and a ball at the home of William Morrison. Governor Coles accompanied his guest to Nashville on a steamboat chartered by the state and afterwards the party stopped at Shawneetown, where an address of welcome was delivered by Judge James Hall. Lafayette's secretary, A. Levasseur, gives an account of the visit to Illinois and of the wreck of the steamboat on the Ohio in his *Lafayette in America* (New York, 1829). See also Ellen M. Henrotin, *The visit of the Marquis de Lafayette to Illinois in 1825*, in Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions*, 1907, pp. 79-84. The account of the visit in Reynolds, *My Own Times* (chap. lix.) is inaccurate.

Steam boats are very plenty on the Ohio river some times I am told there are twenty at a time at Louisville. I am informed also by a Gentleman who had traveled from N. York to Vermont [in] Steam boats on North river and lake C[ham]plain that the Boats on the Ohio & Mississippi r[i]vers are equal if not superior to the boats on north river. New boats are building in great numbers in different places on the Ohio River. You will perceive that I have been scribbling along 'till I have but sufficient room to mention that I remain in good health your most affectionate Brother and friend

GERSHOM FLAGG

A FLAGG

[*Addressed:*] Artemas Flagg, Hinesburgh, Vermont.

[*Stamped postmark:*] Edwardsville, Illinois, July [*illegible*]. 25

XXI. To ARTEMAS FLAGG, August 16, 1825.

EDWARDSVILLE (ILLINOIS) Aug. 16th 1825

DEAR BROTHER,

Your letter of the 18 June and Eliza's of the 12 I have received and am very glad to hear that you are all in good health. I am very well pleased with the names of your Children and hope I shall be well pleased with them if I can ever be so fortunate as to see them.[101] We have the hottest weather here that I ever experienced before. We have had no rain of any consequence for several weeks. The sun pours down his scorching rays from day to day without any cessation and the ground has become so heated that there does not seem to be moisture enough in it to produce any dew. I attempted to walk bare foot two days ago upon hard ground which was exposed to the sun but found I could not bear the heat. Iron exposed to the sun becomes so much heated that a person cannot hold it in his hand a minute. Corn and grass are drying up very fast and apples that are lying upon the ground are half baked by the sun. Crops of Corn will be poor I think this year although 5 weeks ago there was never a better prospect and farmers were calculating that corn would not be more than 6¼ cents pr bushel. But notwithstanding the great heat this state was never more healthy. You make a particular request that I should write respecting my property and for the sake of gratifying you on that head I will give you a very particular account of the same. I have 275 acres Land 60 acres fenced into 5 fields and under good cultivation an Orchard of 530 apple trees 100 Peach trees twelve Cherry trees & 3 pear trees also a well and several log buildings. I rent all my farm except the Orchard of 13 acres to a man who lives on the place and gives me 390 bushe[ls] Corn and 50 bushels wheat pr. annum. I board with a family half a mile from my farm at $1.25 pr. week including washing. I have four yoke of good oxen 4 Chains yokes &c 3 good ploughs two wooden Carts two sleds one large Grindstone two axes 4 augers shovel, hoe, &c &c—a Surveyors Compass and two Chains and Mathematical instruments worth 60 dollars. I purchased last June about 15 hundred acres of valuable land for the taxes which amounted to $103 dollar. The owners have two years from that time to redeem the same by paying the amount with 100 per cent.

I owe $56 dollars and have due to me $110 from good men and have $34 in cash on hand. I have twelve shirts six pair Pantaloons 6 vests ten cravats & handkerchiefs two roundabouts 4 pair stocking two pair shoes one Coat in Short I suppose my whole property to be worth about $1500 in cash and now I suppose I have been particular enough on that subject at any rate I do not wish any one to see this letter except yourself.

If you will give me as good an account of your own affairs together with those of my Sisters I shall not complain of you. You and my sisters write that they are married but neither of you tell me any thing about the men

[101] Artemas Flagg had four children at this time: Lucius Harrington, born in 1818; Azariah Cutting, 1820; Mary Jane, 1822; and Caroline Elizabeth, 1823. A fifth, Gershom Hannibal, was born in October, 1825. *Flagg Family Records*, 42.

they have married except their names.[102] I should like to know somthing further if you please. I have not time to write more at present haveing been Summoned as a witness at Court to day therefore excuse the haste of your affectionate Brother and friend

GERSHOM FLAGG

ARTEMAS FLAGG

XXII. To ARTEMAS FLAGG, August 2, 1830.

EDWARDSVILLE MADISON CO. (ILL.) Aug 2d 1830

DEAR BROTHER,

Your letter of June 21 I received a few days since. I enclose a deed to you which I think will answer the purpose intended but I do not understand what your laws are now respecting conveyances but presume this will be a good and sufficient title to my share of the land and no more. I am in great haste and cannot write as much as I should be glad to do as this is the day of our State Elections.[103] With respect to the trade you mention that Buel[104] can make with N. B. Haswell it would be buying a pig in a poke to buy land in the Bounty tract without seeing it. The land is generally good but there is a great quantity of Prairie and some whole townships destitute of timber. If I knew the numbers of the land I could tell much better about such a trade as I could give a very near guess as to whether it is well situate[d] for farming by the map. If you have Vanzandt's map of the Military bounty lands in Illinois[105] you can see the Prairie and timber marked on the map. We consider the land generally that lies from 4 to ten miles from the large rivers to be the best for farming & for health. The land near the water courses is richer but not considered heathy and after you get some distance from water courses the Prairies are much too large. A belt of timber accompanies all water courses but between the head waters of streams it is generally open level Prairie. The Bounty tract is setling [*sic*] very fast and the Imigration to the state is more now than it has been since I came here. Instead of one I think we shall have three Representatives in Congress after the next Election of members.[106] We have had a very dry season. Money is scarce Provision cheap and plenty. We have much old corn on hand & worth only 15 cents pr bushel oats 17 cents wheat will not sell for 50 cents pr bushel. I have old Corn Oats & wheat now on hand. People ar[e] giving 25 pr. cent interest for money to buy land with notwithstanding land is so plenty here. We may well suppose that when money will fetch 25 pr cent interest and some times more that those who have it will let it out as they have the land for security in addition to a note and this money of course goes into the general land office and from thence to feed the big fish at Washington at the rate of 8 dollars pr. day for their great and

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[102] For Gershom Flagg's oldest sister, Mary Ann, see note 10. The second sister, Semanthy, born in 1796, was married in 1822 to Enoch Hoadley at Hartland, Vermont. She died in 1849. Her oldest son had moved to Rochelle, Ogle county, Illinois the year before and the rest of the family followed soon after her death. Keziah, born in 1789, died unmarried in 1821. Lucy Douglas, born in 1800, was married in 1823 to William Buell of Essex, Vermont. Ten years later they moved to Madison county, Illinois, by way of the lakes, settling afterwards in Macoupin and finally in Shelby county, where she died in 1867 and he in 1871. For Eliza and Roana, see notes 83 and 96. *Flagg Family Records*. 37, 56, 63.

[103] In the state election of 1830 the rival candidates for the office of governor were John Reynolds and William Kinney. Kinney was an *ultra*-Jackson man but Reynolds was cautious about committing himself and secured votes from both Jackson and anti-Jackson forces. The outcome was the election of Reynolds with a majority of nearly four thousand in a total poll of twenty-two thousand. Moses, *Illinois*, 352-355; *Illinois Historical Collections*, IV., pp. xix-xx; Reynolds, *My Own Times*, chap. lxviii.

[104] Probably Flagg's brother-in-law, William Buell. See note 102.

[105] Nicholas Biddle Van Zandt, at one time a clerk in the general land office, wrote a book entitled, *A full description of the soil, water, timber, and prairies of each lot, or quarter section of the military lands between the Mississippi and the Illinois Rivers* (Washington, Force, 1818). The copies of this book seen, however, do not contain a map.

[106] The population of Illinois increased from 55,162 in 1820 to 157,445 in 1830. Under the apportionment act following the census of 1830 the state was entitled to three representatives in Congress and the districts were laid out by an act of the legislature of February 13, 1831. The first election thereunder was August 6, 1832. Moses, *Illinois*, I., 549, II., 1195.

persevering efforts in the cause of *Retrenchment & Reform* and as we are to have no money appropriated for internal improvements[107] the Money which is continually drawn from our western states to be spent elswhere will leave us soon without money entirely. Suppose for instance the whole state of Vermont & Newhampshire were now owned by the U. S and offered for sale at $1.25 pr. acre would not every man who had money either lay it out in land or lend it at a high interest to those who wanted a home and supposing all the money thus taken in was transported to other states and say for instance that one hundred thousand dollars of this money was squandered extra because divirs foreign minister had the misfortune to be so wofully blinded as even to think that J. Q. Adams was a better man for President than the Hero of two wars[108] and then be told it was unconstitutional to appropriate any money to improve your navigation Roads &c &c and thereby prevent in som measure your prosperity I think some Ethan Allen[109] or Missouri Barton[110] would rise up amongst you & tell you who was who & what was what.

G Flagg

[*On margin:*] We are all well.
[*Addressed:*] Mr. Artemas Flagg, Richmond, Vermont.
[*Stamped postmark:*] Edwardsville, Illinois, Aug. 6. 25

XXIII. To Mrs. Elizabeth Flagg, January 9, 1831.

Edwardsville Madison County Illinois January 9th 1831

Dear Mother,

It has been a long time since I have written to you or received a letter from you. I have however often heard from you as I suppose you have from me. My health at present is not very good I believe I have done too much hard work since I have been in this country I am not able to endure as much fatigue as formerly.

Willard arrived here the 16th of October last and is now in good health but was not well when he arrived here and for a number of days afterwards.[111] He came down the Ohio River in a steam boat when the water was very low and the boat struck sand bars and all hands and passingers had to

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[107] President Jackson's veto of the Maysville road bill, May 27, 1830, was practically the death-blow to the proposed system of national internal improvements. The National Republicans—later Whigs—under the leadership of John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay were strongly in favor of internal improvements to be constructed at the expense of the nation but Jackson took the position that appropriations for such purposes were unconstitutional. Flagg was later a member of the Whig party. William McDonald, *Jacksonian Democracy* (*American Nation*, XV.), chap. viii; Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, I., chaps. x, lii; *Flagg Family Records*, 52.

[108] A reference, doubtless, to General William Henry Harrison, Minister to Columbia, whom Jackson recalled four days after he became president. He had been at his post but a few weeks and his recall involved the expense of a new outfit for his successor. James Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, III., 210; H. Montgomery, *Life of William H. Harrison*, 287-288. J. Q. Adams comments on this example of Jackson's "economy" in his *Memoirs*, VIII., 112.

[109] Ethan Allen was the leader and hero of the "Green Mountain Boys" in the Revolution. He is noted especially for his surprise and capture of Fort Ticonderoga on May 10, 1775. He is said to have demanded its surrender "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." Claude H. Van Tyne, *The American Revolution* (*American Nation*, IX.), 40.

[110] David Barton was born in Tennessee, where he was admitted to the bar in 1810. He moved to St. Louis in 1811 and soon became prominent as a lawyer and judge. He was the presiding officer of the constitutional convention of 1820 and was elected one of the first Senators from Missouri, serving from 1821 to 1831, when his support of Adams against Jackson cost him his place. He died in 1837. During the great debate in the Senate on Foote's resolution to instruct a committee to inquire into the expediency of limiting the sales of public lands, Barton delivered a long speech in reply to one by his colleague, Senator Benton. This speech is probably the explanation of Flagg's reference to him, for it attracted considerable attention at the time. Scharf, *History of Saint Louis*, II., 1459-1461; Houck, *History of Missouri*, 17; *Register of Debates in Congress*, VI., Part i, pp. 146-159.

[111] Willard Parker Flagg, tenth child and fourth son of Ebenezer and Elizabeth Flagg, was born at Richmond, Vermont, in 1808. He went to Illinois in 1830 and in 1838 became one of the two original pioneers at a point in Ogle county where Rochelle was later located. He became an ardent abolitionist and was an agent of the Underground Railway. In 1839 he was married to Mrs. Lucy Cochran Lake, who died in 1855. In 1857 he married Mrs. Maria Sitterly. He died at Rochelle in 1877. *Flagg Family Records*, 86.

get out into the water to haul the boat over the barrs. In doing this Willard by being in the water at that time rather cold and hard lifting &c catched a very violent cold which lasted some time but he is now very well and hearty and I believe is very well pleased with the country as far as he has seen it which is very little has not been away from home at all scarcely. He received a letter from Wait[112] not long since.

We have a son nea[r]ly 16 months old who is large and very healthy and I named him Willard Cutting[113] his uncle willard has learnt him to dance very well since he came here.

We have a very hard winter so far for this country the snow is now 8 or 10 inches deep and has been for some days and the weather quite cold. The Mississippi River is frozen over in places. The past season has been more unhealthy than usual and the crops not as good. The fall was extreemly dry as also the latter part of the summer. I had a large quantity of apples the last fall and made above twenty five barrels Cider but have sold so many apples that we have very few left. I sold my winter apples at 50 cents pr bushel Wheat is now selling here at from 40 to 50 cents pr. bushel Pork from 2½ to 3 dollars pr hundred and beef the sam[e *MS. torn*] much if it was [*MS. torn*] you but at presen[t *MS. torn*] saas as I can aff[*MS. torn*] visiting Vermont [*MS. torn*] be very glad if you would write to me [and] inform me how you are.

your affectionate son GERSHO[M]

MRS. ELIZABETH FLAGG

[*Addressed:*] Mrs. Elizabeth Flagg, Richmond, Vermont.

[*Stamped postmark:*] Edwardsville, Illinois, Jan 14. Paid 25

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[112] Thomas Wait Flagg, eleventh child and fifth son of Ebenezer and Elizabeth Flagg, was born in Richmond, Vermont, in 1813. He moved to Rochester, New York, where he edited a paper as early as 1838. Later he lived in Coshocton, Ohio and edited the *Coshocton Democrat.* He was also a lawyer, being admitted to the bar in 1841. He married Catherine Conley in 1839 and died in 1863. *Flagg Family Records,* 91.

[113] Willard Cutting Flagg was the only son of Gershom and Jane (Paddock) Flagg. He was born September 16, 1829, prepared for college in St. Louis, and graduated from Yale in 1854. Returning to Illinois, he took charge of his father's farm in Madison county and made a specialty of horticulture. He was secretary of the State Horticultural Association from 1861 to 1869 and was afterwards its president. He played a prominent part in the establishment of the Illinois Industrial University, now the University of Illinois, and was on its board of trustees from the start until his death in 1878. In politics, Flagg was a Republican and in 1860 President Lincoln appointed him collector of internal revenue for the twelfth district of Illinois, a position which he held until 1869. He was also enrolling officer for Madison county during the war, by appointment of Governor Yates, and was state Senator from 1869 to 1873. During the decade of the seventies he was one of the leaders of the "Farmers' Movement" or "Granger Movement" as it was called and was president of the State Farmers' Association. The objects of this movement were the organization of farmers for their mutual advantage, and the regulation of railroads by the state. Flagg made speeches and wrote articles on the railroad question which attracted attention in the East as well as in Illinois. The movement led to the formation of an "Independent Reform" party in 1874 and Flagg, who was always a hard-money man. strove, but without success, to keep this organization from adopting the Greenback planks.

In addition to his political and agricultural activities, Flagg was deeply interested in western history and gathered together a considerable library on the subject together with a large number of manuscripts and newspaper clippings relating to the history of Illinois and of Madison county. To him is due the credit for the collection and preservation of these letters written by his father. These books and manuscripts are now in the possession of his son, Hon. Norman G. Flagg. Willard C. Flagg was married February 13, 1856 to Sarah Smith of St. Louis. He died in the prime of life, March 30, 1878, and his widow survived him until February 16, 1905. Their three children living are, Mrs. Isabel Hatch of Springfield, Illinois; Mrs. Mary W. Gillham of Wanda, Madison county, Illinois; and Norman Gershom Flagg of Moro, Madison county, Illinois. *Flagg Family Records.* 52-55; Solon J. Buck, *Agricultural Organization in Illinois.* in Illinois State Historical Society, *Journal,* III., 10-23, (April, 1910) and *Independent Parties in the Western States,* in *Turner Essays in American History,* 137-164; Jonathan Periam, *The Groundswell, a History of the Farmer's Movement,* 383-388.

XXIV. To Artemas Flagg, July 24, 1836.

Edwardsville Madison County (Illinois) July 24th 1836

Dear Brother,

My wife is asleep Brother Willard has gone to alton[114] and the children and hired men have gone to meeting and it being sunday and raining I thot' it might be well to write to you as I must be doing somthing for *Idleness.* you know *is the root of all evil.* Those who do not get their living by the Swett of the face make God a liar you know. I presume you would like to know how we are all coming on. In the first place then I have the pleasure to inform you that we are all in good hea[l]th and have so much work to do that we have no time to commit any othere sin. I own one thousand and eighty three acres of Land about two hundred and forty of it is good timbered land and the other is Prairie land. I live about 10 miles a little north of east from the mouth of the Missouri River and about 30 miles from the mouth of the Illinois River and 12 miles East of the town of Alton on the Missisippi River and twenty six miles from St Louis in Missouri on the Road from st Louis to Springfield Chicago Galena and all the upper part of this state.[115] The 4 horse Mail stage passes here every day in the week

[114] The town of Alton, located on the bluffs of the Mississippi about twenty-five miles above St. Louis, was laid out in 1818 by Rufus Easton. The place languished for a while on account of a controversy over land-titles but it grew rapidly in the thirties, being incorporated as a town in 1833 and as a city in 1837. Edmund Flagg, a distant relative of Gershom Flagg, visited Alton just about the time this letter was written and gives an interesting description of the place in his *Far West.* (Thwaites, *Early Western Travels,* XXVI., 118-125.) In the following year, 1837, occurred the anti-abolition riots in Alton in which Elijah P. Lovejoy was killed. Moses, *Illinois,* I., 272; *History of Madison County* (1882), 374-389; Peck, *Gazetteer of Illinois* (1837), pp. 146-150.

[115] The first settlements on the site of Springfield were made by a number of squatters in 1819 and 1820. When Sangamon county was laid out in 1821 the commissioners selected a place near the cornfield of John Kelley, one of these squatters, for the county seat and two years later a land office was opened there with Thomas Cox as register and Pascal P. Enos as receiver. These two with Elijah Iles and John Taylor bought out the improvements of the squatters, entered four quarter-sections, and became the proprietors of Springfield, or Calhoun, as it was called for a few years. The town grew rapidly and is said to have had a population of a thousand in 1830 and fourteen hundred in 1834. It was incorporated as a town in 1832 and as a city under a special charter in 1840. In 1837, the efforts of Lincoln, Douglas, Edward Baker, and other representatives from the Sangamon country secured the choice of Springfield as the permanent capital of the state and the legislature began holding sessions there in 1839. Moses, *Illinois,* I., 430-432; Zimri Enos, *Description of Springfield,* in Illinois State Historical Society, *Transactions,* 1909, pp. 190-208. There are descriptions of Springfield, about the time this letter was written, in Peck, *Gazetteer of Illinois* (1837), pp. 296-297; Flagg, *Far West,* in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels,* XXVI., 318-319.

The town of Chicago was platted by the commissioners for the Illinois and Michigan canal in 1829. Although there was some speculation in lots at the time, no considerable settlement followed and it had a population of only two or three hundred in 1832. From 1833 to 1837, however, the town grew with unparalleled rapidity and was incorporated as a city in the latter year with a population of over four thousand. This growth was the result of the development of steam navigation on the lakes, tons of merchandise and a vast number of emigrants being landed at the port during these years. Pooley, *Settlement of Illinois,* chap. x; Peck, *Gazetteer of Illinois* (1837), pp. 179-181. See also notes 52 and 69 on the Illinois and Michigan canal and on Fort Dearborn.

The town of Galena, located on Fever River near the northwest corner of the state of Illinois, was a product of the lead mines in the vicinity. These mines had been worked to some extent by the French in the eighteenth century but operations by American miners were inconsiderable until about 1819. Within a few years there were several hundred miners in the settlement but the town was not laid out until 1828 and titles were not given for the lots until 1838. Its population fluctuated considerably but was probably about nine hundred in 1830 and about twelve hundred in 1836. Pooley, *Settlement of Illinois,* chap. ix.; Peck, *Gazetteer of Illinois* (1837), p. 208.

The road referred to was a development of the Edwardsville and Fort Clark trail. (See note 68.) Mitchell's map of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois (1835) shows a stage road from St. Louis through Edwardsville, Carlinville, Macoupin Point in Montgomery county, and Springfield, to Peoria; thence northward across Rock River at Dixon's Ferry to Gratiot's Grove in Wisconsin and southwestward to Galena. This map also shows a road from Peoria to just below the mouth of the Kankakee where it crosses the Illinois and then proceeds along the northwest side of the Illinois and Des Plaines Rivers and across to Chicago. Mitchell's map of Illinois of the same date, however, shows the road from Peoria to Chicago as crossing the Illinois at Ottawa and then running eastward along the bank of the river.

except sundays.[116] I have four hundred and fifty five acres well fenced in mostly with White oak and black Walnut Rails nine rails high. It is divided into about a dozen different fields and lots the largest field contains 330 acres. I have on my farm 4 log houses or *Cabbins* as we call them here besides the ones which I occupy myself—4 good wells well walled up with stone the water good and plenty of it—About five hundred bearing apple trees one half of which are of the very best kind of fruit. I sold about 500 bushels of Winter apples last fall for 50 cents a bushel in the Orchard and a few days ago I sold my early apples 68 bushels, at one dollar pr bushel in the Orchard. I have currant bushes in plenty. We made 275 gallons of Currant wine this year and have about 30 Gallons of last years wine on hand. It is worth $1.50 pr. Gallon. I have 12 head of horses upwards of 50 head of Cattle 30 sheep 29 head of hogs about 400 bushels of old Corn on hand and 70 acres now growing. I have 8 or 10 tons of last years hay on hand and 50 acres of timothy and red top this year one half of which is now cut made and well stacked without any rain on it since it was mowed. The hay is most excellent. We have 32 acres of Oats 10 acres of which are not yet Cut.

Myself and those that I have rented land to have 100 acres of Corn all in one field. I think it would do your soul good to look at it. If it does as well as it did last year we shall raise five thousand bushels at least. We milk 11 Cows make a cheese every day and are selling the cheese at 2 or 3 weeks old at 12½ cents a pound. I sold last fall one hundred dollars worth of apples the produce of less than one acre of land and with that 100 dol. purchased 80 acres of excellent land. This month the apples on a half acre in orchard has produced me 75 dollars. Sister Eliza writes to willard that she is determined to come to this country as soon as she can get anybody to come with her. Would it not be well for you to come and take a look at this state[?]

I would come to Vermont this summer if I possibly could leave home but do not know how I can. I am now in debt about 800 dollars and to raise money to pay this requires that I should be here. I should like to hear from you soon. I should like very much to know whether that *Old sarpent called the Devil* is drove out of Vermont or whether he is still roving up and down the country seeking whose Chickens he can catch [a]nd devour. I see or read and hear that there [is] great uneasiness by our religious friend[s in] the East about the cause of Religion in the valley of the Missipi &c &c.[117] I do not see but the cause fl[o]urishes as well here as in other places the people here contribute freely for the support of Preachers both in money and good living which you know is the main thing. Those who *renounce the world the flesh and the devil* ought to be satisfied if they and their wives

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[116] The mail route from Edwardsville through Springfield to Peoria is said to have been established in 1822 and there was one from Peoria to Galena as early as 1830. Scott, *Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois*, p. xxx; Boggess, *Settlement of Illinois*, 158.

[117] The concern about the religious welfare of the people of the Mississippi Valley led to the organization of numerous home missionary societies, bible societies and Sunday school unions in the eastern states and most of these bodies sent agents or missionaries to the West. In the summer of 1812 John F. Shermerhorn and Samuel J. Mills made a missionary tour through the valley under the patronage of the Massachusetts and Connecticut missionary societies; in 1817 John Mason Peck arrived in St. Louis as agent of the Baptist Mission Board; and in a few years there were a considerable number of missionaries in the West. The letters and reports of many of these missionaries have been preserved in the archives of the organizations in the East and form a valuable source for the social history of the Mississippi Valley. Shermerhorn and Mills, *A Correct View of that part of the United States which lies West of the Allegany Mountains with regard to Religion and Morals* (Hartford, 1814); Babcock, *Memoir of John Mason Peck*.

except sundays.[116] I have four hundred and fifty five acres well fenced in mostly with White oak and black Walnut Rails nine rails high. It is divided into about a dozen different fields and lots the largest field contains 330 acres. I have on my farm 4 log houses or *Cabbins* as we call them here besides the ones which I occupy myself—4 good wells well walled up with stone the water good and plenty of it—About five hundred bearing apple trees one half of which are of the very best kind of fruit. I sold about 500 bushels of Winter apples last fall for 50 cents a bushel in the Orchard and a few days ago I sold my early apples 68 bushels, at one dollar pr bushel in the Orchard. I have currant bushes in plenty. We made 275 gallons of Currant wine this year and have about 30 Gallons of last years wine on hand. It is worth $1.50 pr. Gallon. I have 12 head of horses upwards of 50 head of Cattle 30 sheep 29 head of hogs about 400 bushels of old Corn on hand and 70 acres now growing. I have 8 or 10 tons of last years hay on hand and 50 acres of timothy and red top this year one half of which is now cut made and well stacked without any rain on it since it was mowed. The hay is most excellent. We have 32 acres of Oats 10 acres of which are not yet Cut.

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MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE PIONEER LETTERS OF GERSHOM FLAGG
... FLAGG'S ROUTE TO THE WEST (PARTLY CONJECTURAL)
---- OTHER ROADS AND TRAILS
-.-.- INDIAN BOUNDARY LINE AUG. 24, 1816 – SEPT. 29, 1817
(TERRITORY COVERED BY EARLIER TREATIES BUT CEDED AGAIN BY LATER TREATIES IS SHOWN AS INDIAN LAND.)
MICHIGAN TERRITORY
LAKE MICHIGAN
LAKE HURON
GEORGIAN BAY
GREEN BAY
LAKE ERIE
LAKE ONTARIO
ST LAWRENCE RIVER
MACKINAC
FORT HOWARD
FOX RIVER
WISCONSIN R.
PRAIRIE DU CHIEN
DETROIT
INDIAN BOUNDARY
MAUMEE
INDIAN LAND
CHICAGO
GALENA
GRATIOT'S GROVE
ROCK RIVER
DIXON'S FERRY
OTTAWA
KANKAKEE RIVER
MISSISSIPPI RIVER
MILITARY TRACT
PEORIA
ILLINOIS RIVER
FORT EDWARDS
SPRINGFIELD
SANGAMON RIVER
CARROLTON
CARLINVILLE
ALTON
EDWARDSVILLE
GREENVILLE
VANDALIA
BELLEVILLE
ST. LOUIS
ST. CHARLES
MISSOURI RIVER
MISSOURI
KASKASKIA R.
KASKASKIA
ILLINOIS
LITTLE WABASH R.
SHAWNEETOWN
CAPE GIRARDEAU
CAIRO
WABASH RIVER
VINCENNES
INDIANA
INDIAN BOUNDARY 1817
GREENVILLE LINE 1795
FORT RECOVERY
RISING SUN
NEW ALBANY
LOUISVILLE
OHIO RIVER
KENTUCKY
KENTUCKY RIVER
LICKING RIVER
MAYSVILLE
COVINGTON
NEWPORT
CINCINNATI
DAYTON
MIAMI RIVER
LEBANON
SPRINGFIELD
URBANA
COLUMBUS
WORTHINGTON
LANCASTER
ZANESVILLE
CAMBRIDGE
CHILLICOTHE
MARIETTA
OHIO
CLEVELAND
CUYAHOGA R.
TUSCARAWAS R.
FORT LAURENS
NEW LISBON
CADIZ
WHEELING
CUMBERLAND ROAD
PITTSBURGH
GREERSBURG
NEWCASTLE
MERCER
MEADVILLE
ERIE
PENNSYLVANIA
VIRGINIA
MARYLAND
DELAWARE
NEW JERSEY
NEW YORK
BUFFALO
NIAGARA FALLS
LEWISTON
STATE ROAD
ROCHESTER
GENESSEE ROAD
GENESSEE RIVER
CANANDAIGUA
UTICA
MOHAWK RIVER
SCHENECTADY
TROY
MASSACHUSETTS
CONNECTICUT
NEW HAMPSHIRE
VERMONT
ROUSES POINT
PLATTSBURG
BURLINGTON
RICHMOND
MONTPELIER
ORWELL
HUBBARDTON
WOODSTOCK

can live upon the best and have nothing to do. Tell Mother that I intend to come and see her next summer if not before[118] and give my love and respects to all our friends.

Yours Truly
GERSHOM FLAGG

ARTEMAS FLAGG
[*Addressed:*] Artemas Flagg, Esqr., Richmond, Vermont.
[*Written postmark:*] Edwardsville Ill, Aug 2nd 25

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[118] Flagg finally made his long contemplated visit to Vermont in 1838. His grandson, Hon. Norman G. Flagg, possesses a series of five letters which he wrote to his wife in Illinois while on this trip to the East.

ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

(Synopsis of Professor Warren K. Moorehead's Lecture.)

Professor Moorehead spoke on prehistoric man in the State of Illinois laying particular stress upon the mound builder remains throughout our State. Unfortunately he did not preserve the manuscript of his address, but the salient observations are set forth in the following abstract which he has sent us.

He illustrated his discourse with numerous lantern slides of the more prominent archaeological remains in the State and his pictures of Cahokia mound and the groups surrounding it were especially fine.

"As to the exact date that the Red man first appeared upon the broad prairies of Illinois, no man may know. Whether the remains that have been found indicate the existence of a glacial man or man of paleolithic culture is a doubtful question. However, it is within the realm of possibility that at some time rude implements may be found in glacial terraces or under such conditions as to indicate the presence of man of great antiquity in Illinois.

"Be that as it may, up to the present time our evidence relating to ancient man in Illinois is confined to the people responsible for the mounds and earthworks. And it relates to the early Indians.

"While there are unknown numbers of tumuli in your great State, Illinois is the proud possessor in the Cahokia, the largest mass of earth artificially heaped up, in the world. The pyramids of Egypt are higher but their bases are far smaller than the immense structure, near East St. Louis. The Cahokia mound is well known to archaeologists having been visited by famous men of America as well as foreign countries. It covers more than eleven acres of ground and is upwards of 90 feet in height. Surrounding it are two score of other tumuli some of which, but for the fact that they are dwarfed by the presence of the great Cahokia, are by no means insignificant affairs."

Professor Moorehead explained at considerable length the meaning of these various mounds found in our State, so far as that meaning is clear at the present time. He took particular pains to indicate the necessity of Illinois preserving its own antiquities and advocated that such large and important collections as that owned by Mr. E. W. Payne of Springfield be deposited in a fireproof museum.

"Now as to this great Cahokia group of mounds. In any other country than the United States such monuments would have been preserved long ago. Yet, with all our wealth, which exceeds that of any other nation on the face of the earth, we are backward and it is no departure from the truth to state that debt-ridden Italy and France, with far less than half our population and with limited natural sources, care for and show a better appreciation of the antiquities within their borders.

"It required the hardest kind of work on the part of a number of us to persuade the state of Ohio to preserve Fort Ancient and other prehistoric remains. So little interest was formerly shown on the part of Ohio in her

antiquities that the famous Serpent mound, threatened with destruction, was paid for and preserved by the ladies of Boston and not by the citizens of Ohio. Today it is owned by the state of Ohio for the simple reason that Professor Putnam of Harvard University, representing these ladies ,deeded the property to Ohio.

"Illinois is one of the richest states in the Union in archaeological remains. As your population increases these mounds, fortifications and village sites become things of the past. It will be but a few years until all of them shall have disappeared unless you take immediate action towards their preservation.

"A few years ago one of the great Street Railway lines of the western part of your State proposed hauling away the Cahokia mound and using that magnificent monument as it would an ordinary gravel bank to procure material for filling lines of track that were to be built across certain low and swampy grounds.

"You owe it to the great past to preserve for future generations such a monument as the Cahokia group. It could be purchased from the heirs of the estate controlling it for a comparatively insignificant sum.

"Therefore, in showing you in my final picture this greatest of all prehistoric monuments in North America I urge that you persuade your Legislature to appropriate sufficient money to have preserved a monument the like of which does not exist elsewhere in the world.

"You would not wish future generations to rise up and say: 'Our forefathers permitted to be destroyed that monument which has helped to make the Illinois country famous.' Your greatest pioneers, LaSalle and Hennepin, saw Monk's mound. Future generations of Illinois citizens should also be granted that privilege."

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*Vol. I, out of print. Vol. II, Nos. 3 and 4, out of print. Vol. III, out of print. Vol. IV, out of print.

*Out of print.

71.2009.084.09199